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Daily Report

Latin America

FBIS-LAT-89-224
Wednesday
22 November 1989

Daily Report
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FBIS-LAT-89-224 *22 November 1989*

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Walesa Attends Labor Congress in Venezuela

PA2111165589 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1017 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Caracas, 20 Nov (EFE) — Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez today asked workers in rich countries to be in solidarity with poor nations in order to find solutions to these nations' grave economic problems and because the foreign debt situation is worsening.

The Venezuelan pesident attended the opening ceremony of the XXII Congress of the World Confederation of Labor (CMT), which is being held in Caracas from 22 to 25 November with the participation of 350 delegates from 90 countries.

Perez said the disorder prevailing in the world's economy is further deepening differences between rich and poor nations and is a huge obstacle in the effort to establish a new kind of economic relationship between the North and the South.

Polish labor leader Lech Walesa also participated in the opening session. He said he was grateful for the international support his labor union "Solidarity" has received. He commented on the role this labor union has played in the political transformations taking place in Poland. Introducing Walesa, a CMT spokesman said this is the first time Walesa has visited a developing country, and also the first time he has attended a CMT congress.

Walesa said that in today's world it is easier to make substantial political changes than to make economic changes. He asked for international cooperation to help Poland recover and shift from a state-run economy to a market economy.

The first speaker was Argentine Emilio Maspero, secretary general of the Latin American Workers Federation (CLAT), who said we are currently moving "from the old order to the new international disorder," under rules of the game in which "the strongest impose on others the absolute law that suits their privileges and interest."

The CMT President, Philippine Juan Tan, said the challenge in this meeting is to "help find solutions to the international disorder."

The International Labor Organization Director, Belgian Michel Hansenne, also agreed with other speakers on the need to radically change the bases on which economic relations between rich and poor countries have been established.

Venezuelan Labor Minister German Lairet, Minister of the Secretariat of the Presidency Jesus Carmona, and former Christian Democratic Presidents Rafael Caldera and Luis Herrera Campins also attended this ceremony.

Cuba

U.S. Officer's Remarks on Nicaragua Viewed

FL2111162289 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Last week Colonel James Hallums, chief of the military detachment stationed in Palmerola, Honduras, made some remarks that are quite significant. The colonel said his forces would be over Managua in 10 minutes if there was a Nicaraguan attack on Honduran territory. What is the purpose of this statement? Is it a threat, a blunder, or a new maneuver against the Sandinist government being plotted in Washington?

Although the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa attempted to cool off the matter by saying Hallums' statement was a personal one, it is nevertheless worrisome. The context in which the statement was made needs to be assessed.

First, the impending arrival of thousands of U.S. forces in Honduras to participate in military maneuvers with the Honduran Army was announced. Second, the allusion to a warlike U.S. response to a hypothetical Nicaraguan attack on Honduras is the first one of its kind made by a high-ranking U.S. officer in the last few years. Third, the joint U.S.-Honduran maneuver is scheduled for January 1990; that is, a month before elections in Nicaragua, if they take place. Fourth, considering Washington's negative stand on the Sandinist government's peace efforts, a large-scale provocation cannot be ruled out.

The United States does not want the contras to be dismantled, but it does want elections. It is already preparing not to recognize the election results if the Sandinists win. In sum, what the United States does not tolerate is the existence of Sandinism despite the Nicaraguan peoples' will. One cannot even dream that it will give up the idea of eliminating it by any means.

Commentary Views Walesa Visit, Hails Socialism

FL2211120489 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Lech Walesa, head of the Polish Solidarity Union, is currently visiting Caracas, Venezuela, where he is attending a Congress of the World Confederation of Labor [WCL]. Walesa's tour of this side of the Atlantic has earned wide coverage by the so-called Western press.

Among other things, it has been said that Walesa is visiting the Third World for the first time. This is not surprising. When one hears him speak, one understands. Speaking to the WCL Congress yesterday, Walesa said, quote, the success of society rests with private ownership because this is the only system that has passed the test of history, unquote. Is this what Walesa has to tell the Third World? What kind of historical test has private ownership passed in Latin America, just to mention the case of our geographical area?

By making this statement, Walesa has not only shown that he is completely ignorant of history, but he has also offended the peoples of this part of the world. Millions of people starve to death every year in this hemisphere under the sacrosanct private ownership system; millions of people endure the horrible poverty stemming from it; millions are unemployed and lack medical care, schools, and the basics for survival; millions are corrupted and millions manage to survive in an environment that is just a little better than one suitable for animals.

When Walesa lauds private ownership, he is probably alluding to the United States. Yet he is overlooking a basic fact. The United States built its wealth on the basis of neocolonialist exploitation first and on more refined imperialist exploitation later. Therefore, U.S. opulence does not stem from the system of private ownership but from the system of economic exploitation, from which the Europeans themselves cannot be excluded.

In Western Europe, we can only find that a developed country that had not built its wealth on a brutal colonialist system is an exception. Let us mention France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium, just to cite the most notorious cases. Furthermore, Walesa is wrong when he says that private ownership has been the leading factor in developing modern society. Poland itself is an example that testifies to the falsity of his statement. Poland reached the peak of its development under socialism, just as did Hungary, the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, and Romania. They achieved this without having to colonize any other country, just on the basis of their own efforts. Today's difficulties cannot be blamed on socialism, but on the distortions of socialism, on an erratic process that was not corrected at the right time. We respect each individual's opinion about private ownership, but we have the right to state that in Cuba, private ownership has ominously failed the historical test.

Salvadoran Rebel on 'Tactical Retreat'

FL2111171089 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1247 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Interview with Fernando Castro, a member of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front who resides in Cuba, by journalist Roberto Agudo during the "Revista de la Manana" program—live]

[Text] [Agudo] Well, we believe that today it is particularly important to hear the remarks of Comrade Castro of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] on this program. I consider it particularly important because the latest reports we are receiving state that the guerrillas are carrying out a tactical retreat, a tactical redeployment. I would like to ask you, Castro, what the objectives behind this tactical retreat or redeployment of the guerrilla movement are.

[Castro] Following 10 days of fighting in various places in the country, especially in San Salvador, where the regime conducted criminal bombings, even using phosphorous bombs, and to avoid further loss of civilian lives, that is, of people directly involved in the fighting, the FMLN has decided to carry out a tactical retreat to concentrate its forces to continue to strike in other places against the enemy, the Salvadoran Army.

[Agudo] Castro, does this mean that the political-military maneuver has already ended?

[Castro] No. The political-military maneuver continues. The objective is to open areas for negotiations and, if possible, create conditions that would be conducive to dislodging that criminal government which is today making our people suffer.

[Agudo] After nearly 10 days of fighting, does the FMLN consider that the operation has achieved its political objective?

[Castro] We believe that this operation has achieved several objectives. In the first place, we have shown the Salvadoran Army and the world our political, military, and diplomatic capabilities. The enemy claimed that we were weak. They even stated that it would be impossible for the FMLN to hold a position in San Salvador for 1 day. We have held more than 10 positions for 10 days and they had to use all of the sophisticated weapons delivered to them by the U.S. Government to force us to retreat, to carry out a tactical maneuver to avoid more deaths and to be able to continue to take actions in other areas of the country, including the capital itself.

[Agudo] We are concerned about one thing: There is a group of guerrilla fighters, of rebel forces, that is retreating from the capital. Isn't the Salvadoran Army in a position to surround them, to annihilate them?

[Castro] No. It is impossible for the Army to surround or annihilate our comrades. We have demonstrated our great maneuvering skills in the course of this war. We have time and again broken sieges, and it is impossible for them to annihilate us. I repeat, we have just retreated to relocate our forces in places that would enable us to deal even harder blows to the enemy.

[Agudo] This weekend—on 17 November, if I am not mistaken—a new guerrilla column consisting of women from rural areas entered the capital. Is this part of this maneuver?

[Castro] Yes. That also shows our ability to reinforce our comrades who are in the capital. It also shows that we could manage to evade enemy patrols, that we have access through roads, that we can enter and leave through various places in the country's capital.

[Agudo] Speaking of access to roads, I want to emphasize a factor that concerns us all: What type of terrain allows you to undertake a tactical retreat or redeployment? If the guerrillas are in the capital and they are retreating, we assume that the Army is taking a number of measures to stop the retreat, right?

[Castro] Well, we have two bastions. The first one is the Guazapa Volcano, which is located 20 km from San Salvador; and the San Salvador Volcano itself. Thus, our comrades can reach those places without the enemy being able to crush us, to defeat us. Therefore, they can in no way defeat us today, tomorrow, or ever. We are now in a better position to negotiate with the government. We have shown our military might and we will continue to readily demonstrate our military and political capability. There is no chance of defeat. The only feasible outcome is the Salvadoran people's victory.

[Agudo] Finally, I would like to ask you this question. Fighting has somehow subsided in the capital, San Salvador. What is the situation in other parts of the country?

[Castro] The FMLN continues to take actions in other parts of the country. That is, the war continues. This offensive should be considered a continuation of the war. This will not be the last offensive. After this offensive, there will be others if Cristiani's genocidal government does not once and for all decide to negotiate seriously with the FMLN.

[Agudo] Well, I would like to take this final minute to say that during the second "Hot off the Press" section, or during the only one that will be shown this week, with Comrade Alberto Perez, perhaps you will be able to see what happened in the United States regarding El Salvador. There were demonstrations throughout the country to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador, especially in Chicago, where President Bush was on an electoral campaign tour. During a public speech there, Bush was rebuked by a woman who told him that the United States was massacring thousands of people in El Salvador. Bush's speech was interrupted several times. Bush lost his composure somewhat, and in reply to a question by a man who asked him what the United States was doing in El Salvador, Bush said: Be quiet. Let me give you an answer. Who is he? Thus, Bush used a tone that was rather out of keeping with protocol. Well, I think you will be able evaluate this situation later when Alberto Perez comments on it. I would simply like to thank you, Castro, for your kind presence here.

[Castro] Thanks to you and thanks to the Cuban people who are listening to us and who are helping us with their warm, fraternal and revolutionary solidarity. We shall win.

University Group Condemns Salvadoran Killings

FL2111222589 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2035 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Havana University professors, workers, and students have repudiated the brutal assassination of priests Ignacio Ellacuria and Ignacio Martin Baro, rector and vice rector of academics, respectively, of the University

of El Salvador [as heard], who were killed by the Salvadoran regime. In a declaration issued in Havana, the university group also condemns the assassination of four other priests and one of their employees and her child, who were killed as the gunmen entered the rector's home on university grounds. The communique says that these illustrious Latin Americans have become part of the list of thousands of martyrs who have given their lives for the victory of the people. The university group also called upon other honest universities, professors, and students throughout the world to denounce the monstrous act to which the U.S. Government is an accomplice because of the basic aid it provides to El Salvador.

More Internationalists Return from Angola

FL2111142589 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] More than 150 internationalist combatants have returned to the fatherland from the People's Republic of Angola. In the name of the Cuban people, the returning combatants were welcomed by Guillermo Garcia, a commander of the revolution; Faustino Perez; and Division General Ramon Pardo Guerra—all three of them members of the Central Committee. They were also welcomed by senior officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Interior Ministry and by leaders of mass and political organizations. [passage omitted].

Castro Reviews Steelworking Industry Status

FL2111140089 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, has verified the development status of the Cuban steelworking industry in its quest to substitute imports in a meeting with businessmen of the steelworking industry in this capital.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba reviewed the status of investments in each of the leading unions and enterprises of the steelworking industry and the initiatives that have been taken in the face of real or possible limitations to our foreign trade. He said that development in this sector will depend on our individual creative effort.

During the meeting, which lasted 8 hours, Fidel expressed interest in the implementation of programs for building industrial equipment and structures which are earmarked for construction, public health, development of the automotive industry, refrigeration, air conditioning, and the metalworking industry, among others.

Manufacture of Cuban bulldozers, problems with the tractor loaders, the need to urgently improve kerosene stoves, the enlargement of Antillana de Acero, the successful production of (Fregas) irrigation equipment, and the need to find indigenous solutions to difficulties concerning foreign supplies were among the topics discussed at this meeting, which will continue this afternoon.

Barbados

Government Unable To Support Air Cargo Company

FL2111235789 Bridgetown CANA in English 2258 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Bridgetown, Barbados, Nov 21, CANA—Caribbean Air Cargo Company Limited (Caricargo), a joint venture between the Governments of Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, has a debt of Bds76.5 million dollars (Bds1.00 = 50 U.S. cents), Barbados International Transport Minister Philip Greaves said on Tuesday. In a statement to parliament, Greaves also said his government "can no longer continue to provide the level of assistance to this airline as in the past."

Caricargo, established in 1981, accumulated the debt up to the end of September 1989, due mainly to the high cost of maintaining its two aircraft, Greaves said. [passage omitted]

Greaves said among the options the committee had been mandated to examine were the restructuring of the company and winding up the operations. "In the interim the company has instituted a number of cost saving measures, such as restructuring of staff ... and the formulation and execution of leasing arrangements so as to eliminate maintenance costs," he said. [passage omitted]

Greaves said the Barbados Government hopes the restructuring process will enable the airline to be in a position to continue its operation on a self-sustaining basis.

Haiti

Manigat Supporters Killed by 'Armed Civilians'

FL2111132189 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1000 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [First announcer] Seven armed civilians killed three young men reported to be members of the Assembly of Progressive National Democrats [RDNP] last Friday night [17 November] while the young men were pasting up posters of Leslie Manigat.

[Second announcer] On Saturday morning, people living at the entrance to Duvivier, in Drouillard, 1st communal section of Delmas, and in the vicinity of Batimat [construction materials store], near the airport, discovered the dead bodies of three young men: 35-year-old Ragus Lorneus, 39-year-old Israel Isov and 22-year-old Venel Isov. We were told the three men were members of the RDNP.

While they were pasting up posters of RDNP leader and former Haitian President Leslie Manigat and disseminating tracts reading "In order for the Haitian people's trials and tribulations to end, Manigat must return", a gray pickup truck appeared with seven armed men in civilian clothing. These armed civilians bludgeoned the

three men with the butts of their Uzi's before killing them. Venel Isov was tied up and dragged behind the pickup truck (?till he died). [passage omitted]

We point out that at the beginning of last weekend we noticed posters bearing Professor Leslie Manigat's picture pasted on the walls along the Carrefour Road, especially from the Martissant to Arcachon areas; along the Delmas Road; along the airport road; along National Highway 1, especially from the Drouillard area to Carrefour Shada; in Cite Soleil; (?and) along Rue de l'Enterrement. Also, "Long live Manigat's return" is spray painted in many places.

Political Parties Call for Further Strikes

FL2111193189 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1000 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The 24-hour general strike called by three union and people's organizations—Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers, Confederation for Democratic Unity, and 17 September People's Organization—for 22 November has received the support of diverse sectors in Haiti. [passage omitted]

Six political parties have sent us a declaration, Declaration No 3, in which these parties say they have studied the development of the serious political situation in Haiti today and have noted that everything that has been done has been done by the de facto provisional government. This government has shown that it is ignoring popular demands and wants to keep itself in power, despite the Haitian people's demands. Lieutenant General Prosper Avril's speech of 18 November is evidence of this, says Declaration No 3 from six political parties. Furthermore, the attitude of Gen Avril's government and of the president himself clearly shows that he has decided to keep Jean Auguste Mesyeux, Evans Paul, and Etienne Marineau in prison.

The six parties further say that they are maintaining and supporting the strike called for 22 November to demand that the government immediately release the three political prisoners: Mesyeux, Paul, and Marineau.

The six parties also announce that they are calling for a general strike throughout Haiti for 23, 24, 27, and 28 November. These work stoppages will continue until 29 November, the day what they call the "national march of refusal" will be held throughout the Republic, says Declaration No 3.

Declaration No 1 of 15 November issued by these six parties stated that the mobilization of the Haitian people would continue until the de facto government of Lt Gen Prosper Avril left power, say the parties in Declaration No 3.

In order to show their anger, the Haitian people will engage in noisemaking on these strike days. They will engage in noisemaking on 3 days: for example, Monday morning at 0800, the time when flags are raised in Haiti; at 1200; and at approximately 1700, the time when the flag is lowered.

These six organizations are the PAIN, or National Agricultural and Industrial Party; MOP, or Movement for the Organization of the Country; PDCH, or Haitian Christian Democratic Party; UPD, or Union of Democratic Patriots; MDN, or Mobilization for National Development; and RDC, or Christian Democratic Assembly. [passage omitted]

Nicaragua's Borge Arrives on 'Unofficial' Visit

FL2111193689 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1725 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Mexico City, 21 Nov (NOTIMEX)—On his arrival in Mexico City on an unofficial visit to our country, Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge said that a solution to the Salvadoran conflict can be found only through negotiations.

In remarks at the international airport of the Mexican capital, Borge said that given the horrendous crimes committed in El Salvador, the government of President Alfredo Cristiani and the Salvadoran revolutionaries should engage in serious negotiations.

Borge also charged President Cristiani with supporting in his heart, although not in his mind, those responsible for several crimes. He noted that Cristiani has looked only at the political consequences these crimes have had for his country.

Borge, who will stay in Mexico until 23 November, will present his book "The Patient Impatience," which some critics have described as an autobiography.

* Compulsory Sale of Newspaper, Exile Charged

* Order Said From President

90EM0022A Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 674, 2 Oct 89 pp 7-11

[Report by Carlos Marin]

[Text] Madrid—The unpopularity of the government, the urge to control the news, the co-opting of personnel in media firms, the "stroking" of newspapers and newsmen, police intimidation, "usury" in the sale of newsprint, the selective enforcement of the tax code, the promotion of lackey businessmen in advertising, the presidentialist system's "paranoia," and the direct involvement of the president of the Republic in all this: These, as far as Manuel Becerra Acosta are concerned, are the reasons why he accepted $1 million in exchange for handing over the editorship and ownership of UNOMASUNO and consenting to an extraordinary punishment: banishment.

When he is told that "banishment" sounds archaic, he says: "We are, in fact, how absurd, talking about the past. Not the present. This present is a past. Mexico now is a past that has already happened. It's an anachronism."

"Banishment. It's just that. But I would prefer to endure it as voluntary exile. The bread is good here. The wine is good here," he says as he walks back and forth on the lawns and footpaths of the Madrid park whose name, "El Retiro" [retreat or withdrawal], could serve as an ironic headline for this interview.

"It's not easy. Believe me, it's not easy, even with $1 million," he says, still walking but taking care not to leave Juan Pablo and Juan Rodrigo, his 24- and 13-year-old sons who came from Mexico to live with him, too far behind.

Becerra Acosta keeps a firm grip on his oaken cane, which he leans on from time to time and which could be of use to him, he explains, "in the event that someone should attack me."

"The assault that my 15-year-old son (Juan Alberto) and I were victims of at a service area along the northern highway near Paris still seems strange," he wrote in an article that he submitted to this correspondent and to the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS to be published simultaneously with this interview. The incident took place in early May.

Although his gray beard makes him look 6 or 7 years older, Becerra Acosta is 55 and walks at a 5-km an hour pace.

In all, our conversation lasted 15 km, from the founding of the newspaper UNOMASUNO to the "sell it and you're gone" comment with which Interior Secretary Fernando Gutierrez Barrios threatened him.

"It really isn't easy. You start counting the days. Soon they turn into weeks. I've been out of my country for 6 months now and I can't get used to the idea of starting to count the years."

Yet he accepts simple arithmetic. Call it banishment or exile, in the end he will not have to count past one 6-year term.

"Spiritual" Cooperative

"What happened to me is just the beginning," he says emphatically. "If it isn't stopped, if the red light isn't turned on, the repression against the media and critics in Mexico will become uncontrollable."

He does not know, however, what straw or article broke the camel's back in his case.

The politics or content of UNOMASUNO while he was its editor? He does not know. He does not know either whether it was an insult to the president.

The fact is that Manuel Becerra Acosta has been separated from the paper that he founded and from his country as well.

"You draw your own conclusions," he told me before the interview and after handing this reporter a mainly political text.

"I came here to interview you so that I wouldn't have to hypothesize."

"I'll answer your questions, but I won't tell you what you want me to say. What happened is very clear. You interpret it."

"I didn't come to interpret. I came for information. What were the political and economic problems in the cooperative that caused the team that later founded LA JORNADA to quit?"

"Let's get things straight. The company was a cooperative in concept only. I want you to understand this very clearly, Marin, because if this isn't clear, then the other things will remain hazy. You understand?"

Becerra Acosta seems annoyed, but he says that he is like that. The original idea behind UNOMASUNO was to create a newspaper that would serve the reader. The start-up capital came from his severance pay at EXCELSIOR (where he was assistant editor until July 1976), contributions from friends ("very dear friends, not political buddies"), and a 21-million peso loan from the National Finance Bank, "which we paid back in 8 or 9 years, interest and all, a total of 70 million."

He says that confusion arose about the "cooperative."

"A company was established with businessman Jose Solis, who offered the building and equipment. The designers of the project, led by me, had a 60-percent share in the company; the remaining 40 percent belonged to Solis. Later, by an assembly decision, I acquired that 40 percent and became the majority partner. The cooperative was a project. Later it was a company."

"But it was still listed in the phone book as a 'cooperative.'"

"For sentimental reasons the cooperative retained the spiritual, not legal ownership of the logotype, spiritual because it was the idea of a group that could not be consummated for lack of money. We newsmen have no money."

Becerra Acosta is an exception.

"From the beginning I put in an exceptional amount of money. I gave more than my colleagues and then I acquired Solis' share."

Over time the newspaper developed into a good business.

"If the profits come later, if the money comes in, that's fine. Here in Spain EL PAIS and DIARIO 16 started as newspapers and are now financially powerful companies because the advertisers have responded. They're not timid like in Mexico; they have some sort of patriotic purpose, some sort of civic zeal."

This was how UNOMASUNO was born and grew, he says, "in a transparent, careful, clean operation undertaken because of our interest in the country."

"Those who founded LA JORNADA are of a different opinion."

"That was just the ambition of one person or several. That's all. They wanted to take over the paper, because they felt that I wanted above all to write literature (which is what I've been doing when all is said and done) and assumed that I would probably take my friendly leave."

Becerra Acosta does not rest on his jaunt. He has always been a walker and recalls that he, Alberto Ramirez de Aguilar, and Julio Scherer Garcia used to take walks together when they worked for EXCELSIOR.

"I may have told Payan (Carlos) about writing literature. I didn't tell Granados (Miguel Angel Granados Chapa) because he was never my friend. I had their business, of course, and why shouldn't I have accepted it."

The problem that arose, he remarks, belongs to the past. "What's important is what's happening now. Don't keep on trying to get me to bring up the past."

Distant Friends

He says that his relations with former Presidents Jose Lopez-Portillo and Miguel de la Madrid were marked by "the most absolute respect."

Lopez-Portillo once told him at Los Pinos:

"You're a winner, Manuel."

And the journalist said he replied:

"One can't be a winner in a screwed-up country, Mr President."

"He got a little annoyed. Not literally, but it showed in his gestures. That was how our relationship was."

About De la Madrid: "Well, we've been friends most of our lives. Very good friends. I've always loved him, and I'm still fond of him."

However, his friend left Salinas de Gortari with a government that had among its accounts receivable two sizable sums owed by Uno Publishing, S.A.

Without a suggestion of reproach, Becerra Acosta says:

"He could have taken care of the tax matter and the PIPSA [Paper Importer and Producer, Inc.] matter. He didn't, and I don't know why not. 'Hey, Mr President, there's this problem, and I told him about it.' He said to me: 'Sure, let's hear it!' But it was never taken care of."

Becerra Acosta says that De la Madrid "preferred not to become directly involved in certain matters and delegated the resolution of given problems to others."

He muses: "I'd love to blame Alonso (Manuel, the former director of communications of the presidency), but I don't have the facts."

The PIPSA matter involved a 60-million peso loan that he took out during the first 6 months of Miguel de la Madrid's administration. Six years later "usurious accounting turned it into 5 billion."

In the article that he submitted to EL PAIS and PROCESO Becerra Acosta says:

"The sharpest instrument of coercion was the company's debt. As chairman of the Board of Directors, I was directly responsible. Yes, protected by the law, we had declared ourselves to be debtors who were prepared to meet our obligations under the terms of the law. We wanted to pay while availing ourselves of the benefits of a moratorium and a reduction in accordance with what the regulations provide."

In Retiro Park he added:

"Our debt was the sort of problem that every company has. It gets paid, and the matter is settled. The Finance Secretariat sends in an adviser to determine over what period it can be paid. This is usually what happens under the law.

"Now then," he says, pointing the cane like a sword, "in the case of a company as important as UNOMASUNO (politically, not financially), it was a deliberate and repressive oversight not to have provided it with this advice."

"Do you think you're paying for the initial boost that you gave the dissident faction that Cuauhtemoc Cardenas and Porfirio Munoz Ledo were promoting?"

"I don't know. We publicized it before anyone else, in 1986. You mean that we gave it coverage in the newspaper? That Cuauhtemoc got a lot of votes? That was just part of our duty to serve our readers, in the first case, and the voters cast the ballots. You mean that UNOMASUNO lent a hand? Maybe it helped Salinas to get votes too. What didn't we print about Salinas! And what didn't we print about that fat guy whose name I can't recall (Manuel J. Clouthier)!"

"If your debt to PIPSA became 'usury' and if the tax matter was, as you say, resolvable, then what happened?"

"Good God, Marin! Put two and two together and don't make me say something that didn't happen. Haven't you read my article?"

The article says:

"Carlos Salinas de Gortari's considerable intelligence fails him when it comes to understanding others' arguments. His mind cannot conceive of antithesis, because he gives priority to his own theses as syntheses. His hypersensitivity to criticism is so violent that it clashes with his coldly calculating manner.

"He saw me, as the editor of the newspaper UNOMASUNO, as a critic who could be subdued only by reason, but not necessarily his.

"He also saw the author of a stage comedy in which he must have found his portrait as one of the presidential hopefuls. Maybe he never forgave me for making him wait 5 minutes in my house for breakfast (when he was secretary of planning and budget) because 'I got ahead of myself,' as he explained good-humoredly to my wife, and arrived early.

"It was the government that acquired my shares, not a private businessman by the name of Garcia Borja, as they would have us believe. This fellow was the front man in the transaction." (The businessman's real name is Angel Borja Navarrete, according to the article that UNOMASUNO published last 3 March about the change of ownership.)

"I know of a meeting in your home at which several writers on economics were present. It is my understanding that on that occasion, 25 July 1987, then Secretary Salinas de Gortari left with the idea in his head that he had been offended by the host...."

"Dialogue means accepting the possibility that the person with whom you're speaking is right. And not only right but better informed. Someone who thinks that he is always right is not suited to dialogue. He belongs in a lunatic asylum talking to himself. He's also a demagogue."

Repression

"Was it an acrimonious discussion?"

"We never had an acrimonious discussion! Disagreements, yes, but disagreement can be civil. For the fourth or fifth time I'm telling you no, damn it!"

"You go a lot farther in your article."

"You draw the conclusions. Deduction is one way to learn."

"I'll remind you too that I didn't come here to make deductions but rather to hear your version. At least tell me when you realized that things were not going well for you."

"Read the article. I'm not going to amplify further. All of a sudden the police started showing up."

[Article] "Their footsteps were as soft as an elephant's. They followed me closely, on the street, in restaurants, those individuals with the unmistakable look of policemen.

"I asked Carlos Deuchler and Mariano Albor, our publishing company's attorneys, to contact the attorney general of the Republic so that if there was any specific charge against me it could be put in legal form.

"The response came not from there but from Interior and expressly on behalf of the president, through my attorneys, to whom Fernando Gutierrez Barrios conveyed the message: the sale of my shares and banishment."

"Did you try to resist?"

"I didn't want to talk directly about anything. I relied completely on my lawyers. Resist? What was to resist? I would have fought a battle that was decided in advance. I concluded that it was no time to fight, and that's why I'm here. It was a withdrawal."

He comments:

"As the famous commentator Hector Aguilar Camin says, 'You have to keep something under you.' That's not cynicism. It's the truth. Otherwise the newspaper is lost, and I'm left penniless."

"Was it a good deal?"

"It was not a question of good deals. It was an ultimatum."

"How were you paid?"

"Half in Mexico and half 3 months later after I got here. It was $1 million, but shortly before this, shall we say, 'offer' (and you can speculate all you want, but you won't learn his name) I received another offer from a businessman to buy 49 percent of my shares for $2.5 million. I could have kept 51 percent, a controlling interest, and stayed on as editor of the newspaper. I declined."

The government's decision came on the heels of the businessman's offer, Becerra Acosta says.

"It immediately became interested. How did it find out? Maybe from microphones in my home, telephone bugs, in a word, spying!"

"I had no choice" with the government, he says. "I didn't sell for the money. It would seem to be illogical for me to sell out for less than half. But given the power of the presidency in Mexico, what is illogical has its logic."

"Through what bank were you paid the first $500,000?"

"Bank? The Interior Secretariat paid me directly. The dollars were delivered to me in my library at home. Dollars in cash."

The payment was made on 1 March of this year right on Sacramento Street. The man who was stepping down as editor of the newspaper that he founded as a result of Echeverria's attack on EXCELSIOR was accompanied by his wife, Angeles Aguilar de Becerra Acosta, and attorneys Carlos Deuchler and Mariano Albor.

A former policeman by the name of Estrada Ojeda, whom Gutierrez Barrios had sent, arrived with a representative of the phantom "buyer," Angel Borja, and with a briefcase full of bills.

They all counted the money. Estrada Ojeda asked: "Aren't you going to count it?"

"I told him no."

The second installment was delivered to Angeles in Mexico City, and she sent it to her husband in Europe.

"And what about your departure?"

"Haven't you read my article?"

[Article] "Of course I did not agree to leave my country the following day, as the emissary of the Interior Secretariat wanted. I had known for quite a while that the time for my exile would come. More than once I said so to my Argentine friends and colleagues who had left their homeland during terrible days of repression.

"I got on a plane only after I had taken care of the most important matters, 11 days after the impertinent request that Estrada Ojeda had conveyed."

"Did he also mention when you could return?"

"Of course not, Marin. Come on!"

"In your as yet unpublished article you have strong words for your successor as editor and majority shareholder in the newspaper UNOMASUNO."

"Luis 'Ataud' [coffin] Gutierrez. That's what I call him. He founded the union. What do you think of that?

"You appointed him manager."

"The major advertiser in Mexico is the government. The major advertiser didn't talk to me. It had nothing to talk to me about. It discussed advertising and the local news with him. That's legal. Or isn't it?"

"...."

"Well how do you think all the newspapers survive. Who was going to take care of talking with the Mexican Government? Me? In the case of news, yes. But why do you think that Luis 'Ataud' Gutierrez had a Sunday section, which I always found horrendous, in 'Pagina uno'? Infer! Draw conclusions! Treat this however you want."

[Article] "The regime's spokesman at the paper was and is Luis 'Ataud' Gutierrez. As manager, he served as a sort of contact between the huge centralized network and the state governments.

"At the request of Estrada Ojeda, the former agent of the Public Ministry, I agreed, in my last act as editor, to appoint Luis 'Ataud' Gutierrez my successor.

"How was I supposed to refuse the high-pressure offer to buy from the emissary of Gutierrez Barrios, the famous interior secretary?"

It was not the only proposal that he made to Becerra Acosta:

"Gutierrez Barrios proposed to my lawyers that I divest myself of two-thirds of my shares and keep the rest, which I immediately refused to do. I had been thinking the matter over since before our lawyer, Luis Capin, was jailed at the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic for more than 24 hours, supposedly for being the legal adviser of the Gonzalez de la Parra brothers, who had been accused of defrauding the Treasury. The matter that ostensibly caused the illegal detention of Capin mattered little to the system. He wanted to intimidate me, with the obvious complicity of 'Ataud' Gutierrez, who had had a private meeting around that time with President Salinas."

It was then, Becerra Acosta relates, that he began to be followed by individuals who had the "unmistakable look of policemen."

Modern Manipulation

"Aside from your own case, what other novelties do you find in the current relations between press and government?"

"Manipulation is on the rise. The government is acting as if it could pull people's legs indefinitely. It doesn't seem to realize that its efforts are unavailing, even with the way that it's using television. People have their own antennas, their own sensitivity."

He says in his article:

"Political thought, along with economic policy, is a monolith that the head of government and chief of state, the same person, puts together with his mailmen.

"The Goebbels-style offices, like some sort of greenhouse, put out articles, editorials, humor, and personal references sections, opinion pieces, and analyses, and often the person in the byline has never touched finger to typewriter key or said a word into the dictaphone.

"An article appeared on the front page of EXCELSIOR with my friend Juan Jose Bremer's byline without his being consulted. He protested, saying that he was a man of reason, culture, and style, which he is.

"He was a supporter of the regime, he argued, and was prepared to help it by backing the still president-elect without the need for other people's thoughts or helping hands. Well, the next time they sent him a draft article for him to review, change if he wanted, and approve for publication in the paper.

"Bremer devoted one day and an entire night to the task. He put together a new article, but they published the previous version, once again with his byline. As a result Bremer resigned from the National Executive Committee of PRI and submitted complaints to President De la Madrid and Salinas de Gortari, who suggested that he forget about it and not pay attention to the people in charge of his propaganda."

As Becerra Acosta remarks in his article, De La Madrid made the wise decision of sending Bremer off as ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Becerra Acosta's article is unstinting in its attacks on the current administration:

"The practice of flooding the press, radio, and television with material cooked up by Salinas' propagandists, thus causing informational and intellectual malnutrition among readers, viewers, and listeners, began before the regime's new administration took office on 1 December 1988. This date marked the start of growing paranoia within the system, allergic as it was to antagonistic thinking and fearful that raw news would reach the public.

"This phobia about independent expression scarcely conceals the serious affliction caused by the regime's senility, even if a young man is its current chief.

"The fear of the end that is inexorably approaching cannot be concealed. The grassroots ferment over the presidential succession and the people's momentum towards change left no doubts. And Cardenism was a consequence, not a result of the nationwide rejection of the regime. No matter how many schemes they mount, no matter how much of a racket they make, it will be impossible to silence the grassroots discontent over a sinking regime."

During the interview Manuel Becerra Acosta says that the president of Mexico "wants absolute control over and manipulation of news and criticism."

"Salinas is perhaps the last link, the last stretch of the post-revolution. He is doubtless intelligent, but so what.

"The mandate that he has does not give him all-embracing authority; he has to abide by the mandate that he has and he doesn't have a mandate to do whatever he wants."

The emotional Becerra Acosta seems to be talking to invisible crowds in Retiro Park:

"Power cannot and must not be given to the terrible apparatus called the Executive Branch! Nor to the state executive branches. It's a sort of monarchy with royal delegates. And what happened in Baja California means nothing; it just confirms to me what's happening."

"You speak of Salinas as if he were Goebbels."

"Not as if he were. I've said so as clearly as I can. Didn't I write that in the article that I gave you?"

It reads:

"In an act of triumph in war, the president sings the Mexican national anthem before TV cameras to celebrate the new conditions for paying the overseas public debt, conditions that were due, above all, to Mitterrand's efforts and to Bush's liking for the Mexican leader, whom he regards as 'one of the family.' Is there a Goebbels behind him? I think that he is his own Goebbels."

In the next paragraph he says that it was "to be expected that the regime would take over UNOMASUNO so that it would not have to run the risk of failure if it tried to crush it. Now it is in a position to destroy it because the paper lacks readers' support."

Into the Political Struggle

Manuel Becerra Acosta, the author of "Las Primeras Aventuras," "Dos Poderes," "El Aguijon de Jalatloco," "Tic Tac Tic Toc Toc," "Los Alacranes no Entran por la

Puerta," and the four-act comedy "Sucesion en Familia," has completed the first draft of his novel ("Ni Romeos ni Julietas") and intends to keep on writing literature for as long as his exile lasts.

He cautions right now, however, that he will change his tack:

"As long as I can't engage in politics, I won't do it in literature."

"?"

"I'm talking about my other commitment, politics. I'm going to try and get back in the country whenever I can, join a party, go after votes if I need to, do whatever I can. I'm altogether ready."

And he expresses his enthusiasm about grassroots democracy:

"I believe in the people and I think that the people are always right, even if they err at times. I think that the people's vote ought to decide everything. There is another option, revolution. We've already had one, a bloody one. I still think that the point is change, not revolution.

"Politics is not having a cabinet secretariat; it's not having connections to do business. It's the spirit of social service, which goes along with the survival instinct, in men as well as in peoples and nations."

"Where will you be active?"

"Where? What do you mean, where? Among the people. I'm not going to start a party; that's not the point. I'll be active in what I represent to the people, where I feel that the people are represented and of course not in PRI.

"PRI is an office of the president of the Republic. Salinas is afraid of PRI. And rightly so."

"Afraid of PRI? It's his party...."

"You see how we don't understand each other? Deduce, Marin, analyze, please! A lot of people have already left PRI. Some are embittered, but there are some patriots too, aren't there? Of course they're patriots! But why does the State see them as unpatriotic? Why doesn't it say to them; 'We disagree'? You have to realize: It has a monopoly on patriotism. Don't you see?"

After a 15-km walk we reach the finish line: an Italian restaurant. There, Manuel Becerra Acosta practices the language of Roman waiters and encourages a playful competition with this reporter and his sons Juan Pablo and Juan Rodrigo for the furtive glances that a smartly dressed woman with Slavic features is directing towards our table.

The dream fades, and Becerra Acosta declares himself the winner in the romantic battle of the eyes.

"In 'Dos poderes' you draw analogies between the power of the press and presidential power. Do you still think this way?"

"No. The press is, by nature, critical and self-critical. Presidential power in Mexico is not."

Becerra Acosta then proposes another walk. "It's good for the digestion."

* Editor on News Media

90EM0022B Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 674, 2 Oct 89 pp 6-7

[Report by Carlos Marin]

[Text] Madrid, Spain—In late 1983, after 4 executives and some 50 contributors resigned, odd financial dealings came to light in a company that was half corporation and half cooperative (its board of directors) and whose ownership was clear only to its officers and certain insiders: UNOMASUNO.

Started on 14 November 1977 by journalists who quit EXCELSIOR on 8 July 1976 after the blow that the Echeverria administration dealt it, UNOMASUNO was the second choice of its founder, Manuel Becerra Acosta, the former assistant editor of EXCELSIOR, who was unable to develop a consensus to try and regain control of the paper by returning to it.

Offering more analysis than news, UNOMASUNO soon won the trust of enlightened sectors and carved out a decorous spot for itself in Mexican journalism, especially through the Saturday supplement that writer Francisco Benitez edited for 7 years.

On 2 December 1982, however, assistant editors Carlos Payan and Miguel Angel Granados Chapa resigned, along with assistant news editor Carmen Lira and the second editor in chief, Humberto Mussachio. Hector Aguilar Camin, the adviser to the managing editor's office, was fired.

The people who resigned cited a three-pronged crisis in UNOMASUNO: financial, moral, and political. Financial, because the only answer, in their judgment, was an austerity program, a declaration of bankruptcy, or a subsidy. Moral, because "the good faith of the workers had been abused" and "the basic intention of the publisher had been frustrated." And political, because the managing editor's office was adopting a "conservative stance" and "an antiunion attitude."

"...we have withdrawn after long and fruitless negotiations with the owner and managing editor of UNOMASUNO to convince him to return what rightfully belongs to the community and to take up once again the basic political commitments that have so far lent encouragement and meaning to our work," they explained.

What they were uncovering was the uncertainty surrounding the ownership of the newspaper. Was it a cooperative or a corporation?

Other founders of the paper had left in previous years, but without repercussions, for this same reason. One was Eduardo Deschamps, who had been the chief of the cultural section at EXCELSIOR and was jointly responsible for the look, name, and even logo of UNOMASUNO. They had warned of the danger of not spelling out how the company was owned.

The people who resigned in 1983 had trusted that 60 percent of the shares that Manuel Becerra Acosta owned pro forma were just that, "pro forma." They had given him their backing; so when they learned that he felt that the shares were entirely his, they accused him of having abused their good faith.

Forty-eight contributors left in solidarity with them, calling on Becerra Acosta to embrace once again "the cooperative spirit by redistributing the capital."

On 21 December of that year Becerra Acosta's leading intellectual backer, Fernando Benitez, resigned.

Next February, with Carlos Payan as their leader, 75 newsmen and writers called for the formation of a newspaper company that on 19 September 1984 put out the first issue of LA JORNADA.

On 15 August 1987 another conflict arose that plunged UNOMASUNO into crisis, and shady goings-on surfaced once again:

The printers staged a work stoppage to demand compliance with clauses in the contract such as the provision of food, work boots, uniforms, and overtime pay, denounced the excessive hiring of personal assistants (110, compared to 303 unionized workers), and revealed that the company had not paid contributions to Infonavit [Institute of the National Fund for Workers Housing] since it was founded, 10 years before, and that it was evading taxes on its profits.

Luis Gutierrez, a former founder and former secretary general of the newspaper union who by that time was a manager, intervened.

Gutierrez resolved the problem right away. He told them that they were fired and also ran off the secretary general, Mario Garcia Sordo.

The union simply disappeared.

UNOMASUNO published a note to its readers asserting that a "picket line" of the newspaper's enemies had tried to stage "a power play" and that "a campaign to discredit [the paper] was being mounted from overseas."

During those years Becerra Acosta had bought the remaining 40 percent of the company's shares.

Finally, on Friday 3 March of this year the UNOMASUNO reporters vented the anguish that had been building up in them for several days. They knew that their long-standing idea of being co-owners (in a cooperative that never was) was just an illusion. They were now hearing alarming rumors and did not know what was happening with Manuel Becerra Acosta:

—He had been jailed.

—The two Miguels, De la Madrid and Aleman Velasco, wanted to buy UNOMASUNO, and one would come in with 49 percent of the shares that Becerra Acosta had to "recapitalize the company."

—Becerra Acosta lost out as managing editor because he had offended President Salinas de Gortari "with broadsides and impertinent remarks."

—He was paying the price for his friendship with Porfirio Munoz Ledo.

—He was paying the price for a stage comedy in which he mocked Salinas ("Sucesion de Familia").

—It was because he had "invented" the Democratic Current.

—UNOMASUNO owed a lot of money for paper and in taxes (on 18 November 1988 Luis Gutierrez told several of his colleagues that the debt totaled 4 billion pesos, not counting interest or penalties, which could quintuple the amount).

—Becerra had been kicked out of Mexico and persuaded with $1 million.

Luis Gutierrez, now serving as "interim editor," told reporters that UNOMASUNO had been bought by the Associated Construction Engineers (ICA) group.

"With what percentage?" someone asked.

"ICA is the new owner. You don't need to know anything else," he remarked.

ICA, for its part, gave the lie to Gutierrez. The buyer turned out to be Angel Borja, the brother of the consortium's president, who "sold" his hot purchase a few days later.

The last line of an editorial that the paper published told the reporters all they needed to know about the real owners of UNOMASUNO: "Carlos Salinas de Gortari's first 100 days have made it clear that the country has a government and a course."

There were protests against Luis Gutierrez during his first 30 days as editor both because of editorial policy's overt support of the government and because of "overbearing" actions such as the firing of those who were not yes-men to him.

The editors of the supplements, eight reporters, and the news chief resigned during the first 2 months.

In early March Luis Gutierrez reported that two Finance Secretariat auditors had shown up at the paper. "I spoke to Otto Granados (the president's director of communication) and told him: 'Give me some time, damn it! We're fixing this up.' And I ran the auditors out."

On 8 March he announced that he would be going to talk with President Salinas de Gortari to submit to him the names of 25 probable buyers of Borja's shares.

In the end, with 76 percent of $1 million from the National Bank for Public Works and Services (Banobras) going to Luis Gutierrez, nine lucky people turned out to be creditworthy.

On Thursday the 28th, during a lecture at the University of Wisconsin, Gutierrez acknowledged that the "main client of the media in Mexico is the government," which "from the outset taints and affects the relations between the press and government." He explained that "an editor's survival instinct tells him to take care of his client" and if the client does not like the facts, "then they are concealed."

* Account by Current Editor

90EM0022C Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 674 2 Oct 89 p 9

[Report by Carlos Marin]

[Text] Luis Gutierrez has been the editor of UNOMASUNO since March, when he replaced Manuel Becerra Acosta, and his version of what happened at the paper differs substantially from his predecessor's.

On Saturday 17 June, after agreeing to be declared a "distinguished guest" by the Jalapa city government and after hearing those words spoken by Mayor Guillermo Zuniga Martinez, he delivered a lecture on "the practice of journalism vis-a-vis government," at the close of which he responded thus to a question about who the paper's new owners are:

"In 1986 the previous editor and founder of UNOMASUNO, a friend of mine, a good friend of mine, Manuel Becerra Acosta, told a group of us founders that he intended to leave the newspaper, not because he was tired or weary (he's a newspaperman to the core), but because he had a strong desire, an almost frustrated desire, to write. So this was not a new proposal.

"He made the decision in February. He sold a controlling interest that he owned, on the condition that Luis Gutierrez become managing editor of UNOMASUNO, at least until the commercial corporation confirmed his appointment with all of the powers that Becerra Acosta had to do likewise as chairman of the Board of Directors.

"The fact that Becerra Acosta sold shares to a businessman does not mean that he was the only bidder. Since I was always close to Becerra Acosta, I had the chance to verify offers from at least six or seven big businessmen in Mexico who wanted to buy UNOMASUNO, three of whom owned other mass media here.

"So it wasn't an unexpected decision. Becerra Acosta simply made a personal decision. He chose the highest bidder, and one day he later told me: 'I need to live and to live I need money that will enable me to live and write.'"

Gutierrez explained that the sale of the newspaper was followed by an operation, headed by him, in which a total of nine journalists (among them Janette Becerra Acosta) applied for and got a big enough loan from Banobras [National Bank for Public Works and Services] to repurchase the shares.

Although he spoke of the purchase of nine "blocks" of shares, he neglected to say in what proportion they were distributed.

This is how it is:

Janette Becerra Acosta, Gonzalo Martinez Mestre, Bernardo Gonzalez, and Huberto Batis, 2 percent each.

Victor Manuel Juarez, Christa Cowerie, Jorge Reyes Estrada, and Aaron Sanchez, 1 percent each.

Twelve percent is scattered among former members who kept on leaving because of the problems that stemmed from the discovery that the "cooperative" was an illusion.

The remaining 76 percent belongs to Luis Gutierrez.

"There are no shady deals here, except the ones that have been engineered (and forgive me for saying so, but they're a little pain in the neck) by those petty people who think that they can't live unless they kill their neighbor or that they can't get ahead unless they're looking at the tombstone of the person in front of them," Manuel Becerra Acosta's successor said in conclusion.

* Munoz Ledo Notes Concerns

90EM0022D Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 675, 9 Oct 89 pp 28-30

[Report by Carlos Marin]

[Text] "What sort of country are we living in and how safe are citizens, in fact, when fundamental freedom of information, which is an essential part of human rights, is being violated to this extent?"

Lawmaker Porfirio Munoz Ledo posed this question on Thursday the fifth at the special public session of the Chamber of Senators and demanded an official reply to "a report that has seriously jolted world opinion."

Munoz Ledo was talking about newsman Manuel Becerra Acosta having been given $1 million (apparently from public coffers) in exchange for his leaving Mexico and handing over ownership of the daily paper UNOMASUNO.

Proceeding "with all of the responsibility that the popularly elected post that I hold gives me," Munoz Ledo departed from the agenda to address "the scandalous affair involving the newspaper that bears the name UNOMASUNO. In its infancy it was a medium that

lived up to the desire for independence and professionalism of a distinguished group of Mexican journalists; over time, however, it gradually lost that independence until it practically became a parastate organ."

Referring to Manuel Becerra Acosta's statements in Spain (PROCESO No 674), the senator noted:

"It is essential to investigate whether it is true that this amount was given to him. It is indispensable to investigate whether he was forced to leave, whether the amount was given to him in return for something and where it came from. There are express prohibitions in this regard, and there are severe criminal penalties for officials who use funds from the public treasury.

"If, as he asserts, the newspaper is still bankrupt and is heavily subsidized by the federal government, where are those funds coming from and in practice who is responsible for the mass media being dependent on the government this way?"

Munoz Ledo recalled that when press freedom day was celebrated in June, "the head of the Executive Branch announced that he would begin a period of openness between government and the mass media, the written press in particular. If this is really the federal government's intention, now is a truly exceptional opportunity to prove it:

"Independence of the press, suspension of these forms of bribery and indirect acquisition of news media, and an end to defamation campaigns that are run from high-level offices of the federal government with methods that have rightly been described as Goebbels-like and are incompatible with the democratic tradition that we aspire to in our country."

"Vulgarity, defamation, slander, and bribery financed by the government" have no place in a democratic society, he indicated.

The next day, Friday the 6th, the newspaper UNOMASUNO published an item on what Munoz Ledo said, plus a comment from "the editorial staff" in which they describe Munoz Ledo's remarks as "personal letting off of steam and reproaches," "wrapped up in a twisted interpretation of facts that UNOMASUNO has already punctually reported to its readers."

Attempted Reply

Readers of the paper saw the version of Becerra Acosta's successor as editor, Luis Gutierrez, in its Monday 2 October edition.

In a front-page article entitled "What More Does Becerra Acosta Want?" Gutierrez asserted that a campaign to defame the paper and his person has been going on for 7 months. This campaign, he indicated, "has hit its low point" with what PROCESO published.

"He (Becerra Acosta) thinks that he is using PROCESO to strike at President Salinas, at the newspaper that was home to him, and at the current editor, who always served him loyally, when the exact opposite is actually true: Becerra is being used by PROCESO and winds up attacking himself."

Becerra Acosta's statements, the majority shareholder in Uno Publishing says, are offensive to the 350 workers at the newspaper because of the "flippancy, irresponsibility, and poor memory of a man who with $1 million in his pocket took 7 months to proclaim himself a martyr."

Gutierrez commented that Becerra Acosta "is guilty of insulting and attacking the managing editor of UNOMASUNO today with the same ease with which in the past he declared his friendship with and even gratitude to him."

After clarifying that the paper consists of 350 workers, not just the editor, he said that the new owners took out a loan "to cover what was given to Becerra Acosta to pay for the shares that he always, invariably amassed with others' funds, never with money from his own pocket."

He asserted that there is no repression in UNOMASUNO and that it was on Becerra Acosta's orders that some people were run out in 1986 (including the secretary general of the union). He did not explain, in contrast, the recent firings and resignations that have occurred in groups since he took over as editor.

He said that news and criticism are neither controlled nor manipulated and that certain media, "PROCESO, of course, among them," have "felt an obligation to collect garbage and exhibit it on their pages for the sake of so-called freedom of expression."

He contended that UNOMASUNO "receives no more money (and generally less) than other newspapers get from government advertising. The funds to cover the payroll, paper, and other inputs come from the efforts of the workers at this company, not from shameful deals with the government."

In conclusion, Gutierrez noted that in the newspaper that he runs "we will keep on working and will continue to do so as long as the workers, not PROCESO or Becerra Acosta, want. The readers, no one else, are our judges."

EL NACIONAL Too

EL NACIONAL, a mouthpiece of the federal government, devoted an editorial on Friday to the previous day's speech in the Senate:

"Senator Porfirio Munoz Ledo yesterday used the forum of the upper house to attack EL NACIONAL and UNOMASUNO, to distort people's ideas about the relations between the news media, government, and society, and above all, to divert the public's attention from the thorny issue of the gubernatorial elections in Nayarit in 1975."

The editorial analyzed the other part of Munoz Ledo's address, in which, among other things, he stated the following:

"I am referring, first of all, to the fact that a branch of the federal government that does not even have the legal status of a decentralized agency, called EL NACIONAL, which was created 50 years ago for educational and civics purposes, has become a permanent weapon for attacking and insulting citizens. This is an unwonted development, and not just in a democratic society. I invite any legislator to give me the name of a single democratic country in which the Interior Ministry has as one of its branches a news medium designed to fill a spot that belongs to independent journalistic media and that takes it upon itself to slander and defame under the jurisdiction of the government of the Republic itself. Now that privatization is so much in vogue, I wonder: Is EL NACIONAL more strategic to the country than Aeromexico, Telefonos de Mexico? Didn't they want to get rid of the parastate enterprises? Wouldn't it be a good idea to have a report on what the government of the Republic spends on press organs that run counter to the principles and practices of representative democracy?"

In its reply EL NACIONAL said that Munoz Ledo was trying to divert attention from his role in the controversial Nayarit elections when the senator was president of PRI.

Without mentioning the case of UNOMASUNO again, the editorial focused on the reporting of news, denied that it was spearheading an attack on Munoz Ledo, and affirmed:

"It is as a function of this fulfilled duty that we can develop openness, a frank dialogue between the news media, government, and civilian society, an enriching dialogue that contributes to democracy.

"For these reasons, it is salutary to discuss the role of the mass media in a society like ours, which is moving towards full democracy."

In closing, the editorial extended a "kind invitation" to Munoz Ledo:

"We remind the former president of the National Executive Committee of PRI that we are counting on him to fulfill his public pledge to release a report, which we assume will be extensive, in which he explains in detail and truthfully his involvement and the involvement of other politicians in the events in Nayarit in 1975."

* Criticism by Deschamps

90EM0022E Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 675, 9 Oct 89 pp 30-31

[Text] Mr Editor:

Ugh...How revolting!

It makes you want to go wash your clothes; that's how dirty the gossip is.

But facts are what is important. And the fact is that Becerra Acosta lost his way from the very start. He got caught up in his feverish lust for power and money, his two powers, until he imposed a dictatorship in a newspaper that the workers owned (1976-77-78) until "Retiro Park," an ideal journalistic metaphor that Carlitos Marin took advantage to both enrage us and make us laugh.

Becerra Acosta was wrong about conditions, situations and suffers from convenient memory lapses about the founding of UNOMASUNO just so that he can appear as the tragicomic hero of fate. With his "I...I...I," his favorite word, he wants to turn on its head what he wanted to forget from the outset: that the idea of starting a new newspaper, of organizing a cooperative, was not his. Nor was the logotype, which Pablo Rulfo developed. And little Manuel did not contribute a single peso either.

During the last quarter of that 6-year term Becerra Acosta pursued infantile strategies in trying to return to EXCELSIOR, as managing editor of course, if he could find the slightest support on the inside or the outside. His hopes always foundered.

In London, after seeing the headline in the HERALD TRIBUNE ("Echeverria, the Man Who Killed EXCELSIOR"), I immediately phoned in my proposal: Start a newspaper. "Don't lose your heads...." (EXCELSIOR's head, of course) and start a two- or four-page publication right away to compete from a new angle. My suggestion did not find support, and other solutions were tossed out as well.

When I returned on 10 August during that hellishly hot summer, Becerra Acosta was just walking around his house on Sacramento.

So, the youngster Emilio Ramirez de Aguilar and I finally pushed him into organizing a worker cooperative and starting "a newspaper of journalists," a terse, direct paper with a logo like LE MONDE's, to report on and discuss the economy, culture, and politics above all. And 110 days after the shakeup at EXCELSIOR, 32 persons formed the Journalists Cooperative SCL [Limited Liability Cooperative], only half of them newspapermen.

This is the cooperative that all the fuss is about, the one that Becerra Acosta used to shield his shady deals, along with the deals that the people close to him also took advantage of. The second paragraph of the first front-page editorial ("Our Commitment") reads:

"When the previous administration came to an end, we formed the cooperative of journalists that gave birth to the publishing house that puts out our paper..." etc., and this was repeated every day on the second page of UNOMASUNO, albeit with a minor difference 12 months later, in another front-page editorial on 14 November 1978. In it Becerra Acosta "discovered" the new math that is so typical of demagogues. Among other things, he asserted very slyly that "UNOMASUNO [one

plus one] is equal to one...." No mention of the cooperative of journalists, even though the following 1 December, on the printed page, along with the names of 49 other partners, the members of the Board of Directors and of the Management-Oversight Council called for a general meeting of cooperative affiliates for the 11th. One of the points, number eight, concerns a plan to distribute shares in the capital stock of "UNO Publishing Co., with discussion and passage as the case may be." This is the cooperative that he has forgotten about.

It was a full-fledged event, convoked, under their signatures, by Jorge Hernandez Campos, Carlos Payan Velver, Marco Aurelio Carballo, Manuel Arvizu, and Guillermo Mora Tavares. No further comment is necessary.

There is more than enough evidence. This is the cooperative that Becerra Acosta has "spiritualized" in an effort to exalt himself. It existed, it did not exist; it functioned, it did not function. From it and through it he finally got $1 million paid to him in his home, and he still ignores it. That's not unusual for him.

But the fact is that the initial idea for the paper, which I proposed from London, had prompted me to not let go of the matter. Here we will see another of Becerra Acosta's lies in his unpublished, albeit oft repeated stories.

A simple but clear-cut idea prompted me to see the new secretary of the interior, Mr Jesus Reyes Heroles, an acquaintance with whom I can chitchat and who is from the same area of the country as I am, to arrange for a working-capital loan during the early days of the cooperative and to get Lopez-Portillo to make a favorable decision through the Cooperative Development Bank or the National Finance Bank.

"Sir, 7 million pesos to start a newspaper, a loan to the cooperative. I'm chairman of the Management-Oversight Council...."

"Are you crazy? Seven million to start a paper in the capital?"

"Sir, your first remark has long since ceased to be news to me. The other fact is that we newsmen are the newspapers, not the land or the buildings or even the equipment. There's a lot of all that in the city. What are lacking are newsmen. And here we are, organized in a cooperative."

Sarcastically, as is his style, the Tuxpan politician [Jesus Reyes Heroles] said yes. Then came the specifics and the adjustments to get the loan itself. "But sir, do you know about us? We are committed to paying. We are grateful for the loan, nothing beyond paying the interest due."

This was our original chitchat, and it tells the real truth about UNOMASUNO. There was not a cent from Manuel. All you have to do is look at the legal instrument that created "Uno Publishing" after the cooperative. This is another defense for the cooperative that Becerra Acosta is determined to forget.

Offers from publishers flooded in. Some thought that it was "Julio Scherer's newspaper." Positions were clarified.

Jose Solis, from Bodoni Publishers, who had everything ready for a publication but was involved with other, commercial plans, became interested in the project, and in 1977 a decision had to be made about the type of partnership between his capital and that of the journalists cooperative. The solution came from the Management-Oversight Council: appoint the editor and the members of the Board of Directors as his and his capital stock's representatives in a new commercial corporation. Thus, "Uno Publishing" would be created, under the cooperative.

To make things clearer, Becerra Acosta always handled as "A" shares the certificates that are mentioned in the following paragraph:

"The certificates of the 'A' shares and of all those variable-capital shares in Series 'C' or subsequent series, that are underwritten by members of the cooperative must contain the following text: The underwriter of the shares must be a member of the Journalists' Cooperative, a Limited Liability Cooperative under the provisions of its bylaws. In the event that this requirement is not met, the share in question shall be null and void, and the name of its holder may not be registered in the registered-stock ledger, nor shall it have any legal force."

Therefore, and without further ado, Becerra Acosta, Jorge Hernandez Campos, Antonio Andrade, and Marco Aurelio Carballo were named representatives of the Journalists' Cooperative, and our friend Jose Solis was named partner in the "B" shares. This also appears in the first entry of the "Uno Publishing" commercial corporation, number 008997, where Carlos Payan is mentioned as president; Jose Luis Robles Glenn as secretary; Moreno Sanchez, Enrique Loubet and Jorge Fernandez Hurtado as regular members, and Francisco Padilla Gutierrez as management-oversight chief.

Just by looking at the accounting books, you can see the ups and downs, the bumps and bruises that "Uno Publishing" suffered, until in November 1986 Becerra Acosta, by this time its friendless owner, proxy, cacique, and terrorizer, granted administrative authority to his squire, Luis Gutierrez, who for 10 toil-filled years was a reporter, top union leader, and general manager, and who today is managing editor. Another victor.

The most important thing that Manuel did when the Journalists' Cooperative was created was to baptize it, even though he later forgot about it, as we can see. It was the first goal of his mandate. We can thus see why on 14 October 1978, less than a year later, the managing editor and his team decided to get rid of the chairman of the Management-Oversight Council. The initial document of treason, with signatures and everything, belongs in a museum of infamy. It would be interesting to look into it some other time.

Jose Solis, who lost his shirt, stayed on after the cooperative, later to battle among and with his former supporters: Manuel Becerra Acosta versus Payan, Aguilar Camin, Granados Chapa, et al.

During all the fuss in 1980 Carlos Payan took the opportunity to transfer the rights of the Journalists' Cooperative to the "1+1" and "Unomasuno" certificates after they had been declared "worthless" in February (so much for everyone's good faith) "because their use had not been verified." No one defended the workers or their capital as owners of the logotype, neither on the inside nor the authority who coldly watched all of the commotion pass.

To round out this initial series of clarifications, the Journalists Cooperative was shut down overnight, without being dissolved, in 1988. The poor thing disappeared, even its symbolic presence on the board. The rights of the cooperative members, the workers who survived Becerra Acosta's fury, were not defended this time either. Three of the founders are still around today, including Luis Gutierrez, the apparent owner of UNOMASUNO, thus realizing Becerra Acosta's sweet dreams.

The undersigned has an interesting story to tell about his last hours as chairman of the Oversight Council. I had to hide in a PIPSA [Paper Importer and Producer, Inc.] paper truck to avoid Manuel Becerra Acosta's watchmen and then had to climb flight after flight of stairs so that I could witness my own expulsion from the cooperative during an assembly headed by Manuel Becerra Acosta and Hugo del Rio. My statement to that meeting of UNOMASUNO was:

"One by one you're going to be leaving here...."

And so it happened, all the way up to Becerra Acosta. Once again, it's laughable.

But it also took 6 years of hard fighting before the Labor Secretariat to deal a legal defeat to the enterprise that now belonged to Becerra Acosta. Material for another movie.

Clearly, one can cross the swamp of journalism and not get dirty. Mine is one of those pens....Here is where the Veracruz in me comes out.

I send you my best wishes and much affection, chief, really. The people in this business will learn some day.

Eduardo Deschamps Rosas

El Salvador

Reportage on Sheraton Hotel Situation

'Fierce' Fighting in Vicinity

PA2111134689 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1315 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] A dispatch from the capital reaching our station at 0715 [1315 GMT] this morning states: At this moment, 0715, fighting has intensified in the vicinity of the Sheraton Hotel, as well as in the Zona Rosa. Police patrols are being ambushed in the San Benito and Escalon neighborhoods, which are exclusive residential districts of the Army high command and the oligarchy. Fierce fighting is taking place in the capital, according to reports reaching our station at 0715 this morning.

Clashes Reported in Parking Lot

PA2111142389 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1352 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 21 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—Heavy fighting between the Salvadoran Army and the guerrillas began early this morning in residential areas of northern San Salvador near where OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares is staying.

Residents of the Escalon and San Benito neighborhoods in northern San Salvador confirmed the heavy clashes between soldiers and guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

An employee of the Sheraton Hotel, where Baena Soares is staying, told ACAN-EFE that there is some fighting in the hotel's parking lot.

The UN office in San Salvador, which is located in the northern sector of the city, told its employees not to report to work.

Guerrillas Reported in Hotel

PA2111155889 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1531 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] We briefly interrupt our scheduled program to bring you a last minute report.

According to AFP, reliable eyewitnesses have reported that this morning the Salvadoran guerrillas occupied the Sheraton Hotel located in Escalon neighborhood, northeastern San Salvador. OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares is currently staying at the Sheraton Hotel. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] rebels reportedly positioned themselves on the roof of the hotel where Secretary General Baena Soares is staying shortly before 0830 [1430 GMT]. According to a reliable source, at 0830 the rebels had not captured Baena Soares. The source added that Baena Soares' personal bodyguards were killed in the clashes that continue around the hotel. It was also learned that helicopters were bombing the Escalon neighborhood, where the rebels raised barricades early this morning with the apparent intention of isolating the area.

An unidentified and nervous-sounding person who was manning the Sheraton Hotel switchboard early this morning told a reporter that he could not transfer any calls and hung up abruptly. Since 0630 [1230 GMT], the telephones at the Sheraton Hotel have not been answered.

Helicopter Downed Nearby

PA2111155289 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1521 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Your attention, please. Here is a last-minute report from the capital. We had said that antiaircraft fire had intensified. We inform the nation that a Huey 500 helicopter was downed by antiaircraft fire near the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador. Attention. At 0820 in thise morning, FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] antiaircraft fire hit a Huey 500 helicopter, known as the Dragonfly [mosca boba], which plummeted to earth after being hit by FMLN fire during the fighting under way at this time in the capital.

Attention: the 75th and 77th South avenues of the Beethoven western sector, Masferrer Square, and the Country Club are also areas of the fighting in San Salvador.

Venceremos: U.S. Advisers 'Captured'

PA2111160689 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1541 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Our forces at the Sheraton Hotel have captured four U.S. advisers, one Guatemalan adviser, and one Chilean adviser, who offered resistance to our forces at the Sheraton Hotel. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] is respecting the physical and mental well-being of these foreign citizens captured in the Sheraton Hotel. In a few minutes we will be giving our official position regarding these citizens who offered resistance to our forces. They are military advisers: four U.S. advisers, one Guatemalan adviser, and one Chilean adviser. They are in perfect health. The FMLN is respecting their physical and mental well-being, just as it respects that of all prisoners. We guarantee respect for the international agreements regarding the safety of these citizens who offered resistance to our forces. They are currently under the protection of the FMLN.

FMLN Issues Communique

PA2111162889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1556 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Attention; your attention please. Here is a communique from the General Command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] to the Salvadoran people and the international community. We inform them that:

1. Up until this time none of our units has reported that OAS Secretary General Mr Baena Soares is in the San Salvador Sheraton Hotel where fighting is continuing. Because of press agency dispatches claiming that the OAS secretary general was in that hotel, we immediately took steps to confirm this.

2. No civilian foreigners will be taken hostage; we will guarantee their safety at all times.

3. We are willing to take special measures to allow any civilian in such a situation to be evacuated, with the help of international organizations, from the combat zones.

4. We inform everyone that we have detected the movement of U.S. military troops who, with the pretext of giving protection to U.S. citizens, are trying to get involved in the fighting. We view these movements and the intervention of U.S. troops as unnecessary because, we reiterate, our forces are not going to take hostages.

5. We warn that if any movement of U.S. troops takes place, our troops will engage them in battle in a few hours.

[signed] FMLN General Command.

Further on Advisers

PA2111184989 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1809 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Statement by FMLN Commander Mercedes Del Carmen Letona on 21 November, place not given—recorded]

[Text] We want to report that today between 0430 and 0500 in the morning, FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] forces occupied the northwestern part of the capital, where the Sheraton Hotel is located. Everything seems to indicate that OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares is inside the hotel. We want to report that Mr Baena Soares is not being held by our forces. At the same time we report that helicopter gunships are firing indiscriminately into the area where the Sheraton Hotel is located. This endangers the lives of the civilians and of the OAS secretary general in the event he is there.

Also, we want to report that this morning, also at the Sheraton Hotel, a group offered armed resistance and this group was later overpowered. They are being held by us. They are six U.S. advisers, four of them U.S. citizens, one Guatemalan, and one Chilean. The FMLN reports that these persons being held by us will not be held as hostages and that we are working to turn the advisers over to their respective governments.

Government Condemns Hotel Attack

PA2111175989 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1711 GMT 21 Nov 89

["Communique to Salvadoran Citizens," read by announcer—live]

[Text] In an irrational act of criminal terrorism, a group of FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] outlaws occupied part of the Sheraton Hotel facilities with the malevolent intention of taking the OAS secretary general hostage.

Thanks to quick action by the glorious Armed Forces, the OAS secretary general is now under the protection of special units who are in the process of evacuating him from the site.

The visit to our country by distinguished OAS Secretary General Baena Soares has a peaceful purpose. Therefore, we totally condemn the FMLN making him a target of its terrorist actions.

The Salvadoran Government strongly condemns this action. At the same time, it urges the international community to join the outcry of all civilized and democratic nations that condemn the FMLN for this cowardly attack on the OAS secretary general.

Armed Forces Communique on 'Hostages'

PA2111192989 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1838 GMT 21 Nov 89

["National Information Center Communique to the Salvadoran People," read by announcer—live]

[Text] The Armed Forces have foiled the terrorist attempt to kidnap the OAS secretary general in this capital. Specialized army troops this morning foiled an attempt by the FMLN terrorist groups to kidnap OAS Secretary General Joao Clemente Baena Soares, who was staying at the El Salvador Sheraton Hotel in the Escalon neighborhood in the northwestern part of the capital.

Troops from the Bracamonte Battalion and the Cavalry Regiment, supported by the Air Force, surrounded the area while two groups of specially trained units entered the hotel. The first group provided maximum protection to the distinguished OAS secretary general, while the second group overpowered the group of extremists who had entered the hotel lobby with the intention of kidnapping Baena Soares.

The troops are currently cleaning up the small diversionary operations of the terrorists in the vicinity of the Club Campestre at the end of General Escalon Drive, close to the warehouses of the Central Electoral Council and the extension of 75th Avenue North.

At the present time, in a desperate attempt to save their lives due to the speedy reaction of the Armed Forces, the terrorist group that had intended to kidnap the OAS secretary general took a group of hotel guests as hostages and is holding them captive on one of the floors of the hotel.

The Armed Forces expects to resolve this situation in a favorable manner in the next few hours, and they are trying to ensure the physical well-being of the hostages.

Army Evacuates 20 'Hostages'

PA2111193489 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1902 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Authorized spokespersons have informed the national network that armored personnel carriers were used to evacuate the 20 persons being held hostage by the terrorist Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, criminals at the Sheraton Hotel. The spokespersons added that the hostages have been taken to a safe place. The hostages were U.S. citizens, who were taken hostage when the cowardly FMLN killers attacked the hotel in an attempt to kidnap OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares. Baena Soares is also under the protection of a special Armed Forces corps. Regarding the condition of the 20 hostages, one was reported to have a leg injury. The injured hostage is a U.S. citizen who works for AID.

The cowardly FMLN killers, through their clandestine radio station, are broadcasting lies in an attempt to lift the morale of FMLN members. The international community knows the truth; our glorious Armed Forces have the situation under control.

OAS Secretary General Safe

PA2111195189 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1940 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 21 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—Eyewitnesses have reported that OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares left the San Salvador Sheraton Hotel shortly after 1200 (1800 GMT), safe and sound and escorted by diplomats.

Heavy fighting between soldiers and guerillas continues in the area of the hotel in northern San Salvador, which the guerrillas attacked early today.

The witnesses added that inside the Sheraton there are eight armed U.S. military advisers, who have asked that Red Cross officials come to the hotel to evacuate them.

Government Communique on Attack

PA2111211989 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1958 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Communique issued by the Salvadoran Government on 21 November]

[Text] The Salvadoran Government hereby protests the brutal armed attack launched this morning by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] and its allies against the Sheraton Hotel located in Escalon neighborhood in San Salvador. This was a diabolic attempt to harm OAS Secretary General Ambassador Joao Clemente Baena Soares and his delegation. Baena Soares and his delegation are in El Salvador at the request of the OAS 19th General Assembly to carry out an on site investigation into the situation in El Salvador as a result of the FMLN aggression.

Mr Baena Soares has met with representatives of the government's three branches and other sectors of our society. The democratic government of El Salvador denounces before the international community this criminal attack against a civilian installation. This attack endangers the lives of people lodged therein, as well as the lives of the OAS Secretary General and his delegation.

The Salvadoran Government, the legitimate representative of the people's will as expressed by the voting, requests the firm support of the world's civilized nations, for its legitimate defensive actions in the face of brutal aggression by the FMLN, which is being supported directly by Cuba and Nicaragua.

We must stress the contrast between the positions and attitudes assumed by both sides regarding the continuation of the dialogue leading to an end to the hostilities and to attaining peace in El Salvador. While the government delegation is in Curacao and Venezuela trying to to bolster the dialogue, the FMLN, with an attitude against the spirit of the peace process, seeks to deepen and internationalize the armed conflict by causing more death and destruction.

Rebel on 'Prisoners of War'

PA2111222089 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2120 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 21 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—One of the guerrillas who is still inside the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador said this afternoon that the "military advisers" from the United States and other countries captured by the rebels are not "hostages" but "prisoners of war" and they will be released "within the next few hours."

The guerrilla told newsmen that the advisers—at least four Americans, one Guatemalan, and one Chilean, according to the guerrillas and the government—are being held on one of the floors that the guerrilllas have occupied at the hotel. He said that they will be delivered to their respective ambassadors.

The guerrilla added that rebel commander Facundo Guardado ("Esteban"), who led the rebel attack last week in the northeastern part of San Salvador, is near the Sheraton Hotel. He is waiting to begin talks with Hotel Manager Robert Newell.

According to guests who were trapped this morning by the guerrilla attack and who managed to leave during the afternoon, the rebels are occupying several floors of the Sheraton Hotel. The American, Chilean and Guatemalan diplomats are on one of these floors.

"Radio Venceremos," the clandestine rebel station, reported that the "foreign military advisers" were disarmed and captured after having offered "resistance" to the rebel commandos who attacked the Sheraton Hotel this morning.

FMLN Communique on Baena Soares

PA2111224189 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 2205 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Communique from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front—FMLN to the Salvadoran people and the international community, issued on 21 November]

[Text] 1. Mr Baena Soares was never held by us and reports indicate that he has left the combat zone.

2. There are civilians inside the Sheraton Hotel and they are in danger because of indiscriminate firing on the hotel from helicopters.

3. The conditions for the evacuation of the civilians depend not only on the FMLN, but also on the Army.

4. The FMLN hereby states its willingness to offer conditions to facilitate evacuation, and it is working with the International Red Cross Committee to achieve this.

[Dated] 21 November 1989

[Signed] FMLN

FMLN Communique on Situation

PA2111235289 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 2234 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Communique From Our General Command:

The FMLN General Command to the people of El Salvador and the international community.

1. [words indistinct] by the FMLN against the Army today in the northwestern sector of San Salvador. At the moment the hostilities began in the area of the Sheraton Hotel, a group of armed men fired at us from inside the hotel.

2. This group has been overpowered by our forces and is under our control. Initial reports had indicated that they are four U.S. advisors, one Guatemalan, and one Chilean. However, we have information that other U.S. military men and civilians who work for the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador might be inside the hotel. The FMLN reiterates that this group is not being held hostage.

3. The FMLN has learned of the Spanish Government's offer that the U.S. personnel be turned over to the Spanish ambassador in San Salvador. The FMLN states its complete agreement with this offer.

4. The FMLN states its willingness for a temporary truce to facilitate the delivery and evacuation. It calls on the International Red Cross Committee to contact both parties regarding this, and at the same time, to accompany the Spanish ambassador to the area.

[Signed] FMLN General Command—Commander Jorge Shafik Handal, Francisco Jovel, Eduardo Sancho, Joaquin Villalobos

[Dated] San Salvador, 21 November 1989

FMLN To Release Advisers

PA2211002189 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 2304 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] will allow all the people who were trapped in the combat area near the Sheraton Hotel to get out of there. Between 1710 and 1810, the FMLN will allow all those who were trapped in the combat zone in the Sheraton area to be evacuated. In addition, we are also reporting that the advisers will be turned over to the Spanish ambassador, while the other people trapped near the Sheraton will be turned over to the church. We repeat: This evacuation will take place between 1710 and 1810. We deplore that the government and other organizations did not move as fast as they have now when those trapped in the fighting were humble people. They did not permit these agreements reached now to be reached a few days ago when those involved were workers and poor people who numbered in the thousands. The government and other organizations did not show the same zeal about reaching agreements. The government did not care about the fate of the wounded and those trapped in the middle of the conflict. However, now there is great concern because it involves these U.S. citizens.

Venceremos Reports Evacuation

PA2211005389 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 2319 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] This is a last minute report from San Salvador. Attention. A delegation is now heading for the Sheraton Hotel to see that both civilians and U.S. personnel are evacuated. The time allotted for the evacuation is from 1710 and 1810. Repeat: The evacuation should take between 1710 and 1810.

The delegation is composed of Monsignor (?Stahl), a German bishop, San Salvador Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez, and Francisco Mussy, the local delegate of the International Red Cross Committee. Repeat: The delegation composed of German Bishop Monsignor (?Stahl), Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez, and Red Cross delegate Francisco Mussy has already left for the Sheraton Hotel.

There will be a 1-hour cease-fire between 1710 and 1810. The evacuation, which will take place during this time, will be done in two groups. First of all, the civilians will be taken out with the participation of the Catholic Church and Monsignor Mussy. Once the civilians are evacuated, the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] will hand over foreign U.S. advisers and U.S. Embassy personnel to Monsignor (?Stahl). The Catholic official will then hand them over to the Spanish ambassador to El Salvador. It is now 1723. The procedure has been going on for several minutes. Monsignor Rosa Chavez and the other delegates should have already entered the Sheraton Hotel.

Army Attacking Near Hotel

PA2211015289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0055 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 21 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—The Salvadoran Army tonight attacked rebel positions in the northern sector of San Salvador and near the Sheraton Hotel, occupied today by guerrilla forces. OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares was staying at that hotel.

Salvadoran Army helicopter gunships lit the area near the Sheraton Hotel of the slopes of the San Salvador Volcano with flares and machine-gunned the area. Until now there has not been any news as to the number of victims or casualties on either side.

After Baena Soares was evacuated in a light tank, the Salvadoran guerrillas said they were willing to offer guarantees for the withdrawal of the civilians trapped inside the hotel.

Meanwhile, eyewitnesses reported today that an exclusive country club located in the northern end of the capital city was set on fire, presumably by rebel forces.

There was a widespread rumor this afternoon in San Salvador that the "curfew" imposed throughout the country has been advanced one hour. The rightist government has imposed a "curfew" throughout the country from 1800 (0000 GMT) to 0600 (1200 GMT).

The offensive launched by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) since 11 November has caused more than 1,000 dead and left hundreds of wounded and thousands of displaced persons.

Truce Reportedly Decreed

PA2211025889 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0203 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] We have a report from San Salvador stating that a truce was decreed this afternoon between 1700 and 1810 for the evacuation of the U.S. advisers and civilians from the Sheraton Hotel.

Here we have the report indicating that the evacuation of civilians was carried out and the truce, as established by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], was carrried out.

The civilians and advisers we were holding were evacuated. A truce was decreed and complied to with the participation of Monsignor (Stahl), a German bishop, Monsignor Rosa Chavez, and Francisco Mussy, a national delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

We also report that the first group to be evacuated was composed of 17 people of different nationalities, among them the military advisers we were holding.

Later the commission mediating in this situation confirmed that there were no more civilians in the hotel, and that only armed U.S. military men, who refused to be evacuated as had been agreed, remained.

This is the information we have from San Salvador.

The main point of the report is that a truce was carried out. Actions were suspended for 1 hour starting at 1710. The truce that the FMLN and the government had agreed to for the evacuation operation was in effect for 1 hour.

One of the groups was composed of 17 people—among them the U.S. advisers, people of other nationalities, and employees of the hotel. The commission confirmed that there were no more civilians in the hotel. Only armed U.S. military men, who had been fighting and who refused to be evacuated, remain in the hotel. The U.S. advisers we were holding were turned over to Msgr (Stahl). They were then reportedly turned over to the Spanish diplomat. This is the information we have from San Salvador.

Rebels Reject Responsibility

PA2211040389 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0313 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] We inform the Salvadoran people and the international community that this afternoon we completed the evacuation of advisers and civilians who were inside the Sheraton Hotel. The evacuation was possible following an agreement reached with the Spanish Government and the International Red Cross Committee as well as with the Salvadoran Church. We agreed with them to establish a 1-hour truce, between 1710 and 1810 today. The truce was highly effective, and the commission made up of Msgr (Stahl), a West German bishop; Msgr Gregorio Rosa Chavez, a Salvadoran bishop; and Francisco Mussy, who is in charge of the International Red Cross Committee in El Salvador, carried out the evacuation of civilians.

The commission entered the hotel at the beginning of the truce to conduct the evacuation of the first group of 17 people of different nationalities, including 3 American military advisers, a Guatemalan adviser, a Chilean adviser, 5 Israeli citizens, an Italian, and a West German citizen. Five hotel employees were also evacuated. This first group was evacuated without problems. The commission entered the hotel to complete the evacuation and it confirmed that there were no civilians, except for a group of armed American advisers, who—as we have already reported in our radio station—had been involved in the fighting throughout the day.

The commission met with the armed advisers and told them that according to the agreements, they would be evacuated and turned over to the Spanish ambassador. The armed American advisers refused and they remained in the hotel. The commission then withdrew from the hotel.

The evacuation ended on time, according to the agreements. The Church, the International Red Cross Committee, and the Spanish Government facilitated the operation so it could be conducted properly. They also allowed civilians to be evacuated from the combat zone.

We want to note that the conditions for evacuating the armed U.S. military advisers from the combat zone with full guarantees were established, but they refused to abide by them. They are no longer the responsibility of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN]; they are the responsibility of the U.S. Government and its embassy in San Salvador.

Rebel Commanders Headed Attack

PA2211053289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2240 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] San Salvador, 21 Nov (ACAN-EFE)—The rebel commanders who directed the occupation of several San Salvador neighborhoods last week today led the seizure of the Sheraton Hotel, where OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares was trapped for more than 8 hours.

Newsmen who entered the hotel this afternoon during the evacuation of Baena by diplomats were able to confirm that Commander Amilcar, known as "El Choco," who directed the combat operations in the Zacamil neighborhood, was seen today on the third floor of the Sheraton Hotel.

Several rebels have said that Facundo Guardado ("Commander Esteban"), one of the founders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and one of the leaders of the offensive that began in the capital on 11 November, is somewhere near the hotel.

According to the rebels, Guardado expected to initiate this afternoon's "negotiations" with the hotel manager, Robert Newell. Several U.S. military advisers, as well as one from Guatemala and another from Chile, remain in the hands of the rebels. El Choco said: "We can resist for as long as we have to. All they can do is bomb the place, and we will see if they are willing to do that."

According to the young guerrilla commander, the rebel withdrawal from the Zacamil, Cuscatancingo, and Mejicanos neighborhoods, among others, "was part of the plan" that was completed today with the arrival at the Sheraton Hotel area. The rebel said: "We have come here today, to the Escalon neighborhood, to their area, the area of the bourgeoisie, to see if they will do here what they did with the people, who were hurt by the Air Force bombing operations."

At 0430 (1030 GMT) today, the FMLN guerrillas initiated heavy fighting around the Sheraton Hotel, where OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares was staying. Baena Soares was evacuated from the Sheraton Hotel to the headquarters of the Armed Forces staff, where he met with the "highest Salvadoran authorities," according to diplomatic and military sources.

This afternoon the guerrillas are still occupying several floors of the hotel, which has bullet holes, destroyed windows, and broken furniture all over the floor.

The area has been surrounded by light armored tanks and is being patrolled by several armed Salvadoran Air Force helicopters.

Government Radio on Capture of 'Mercenaries'

PA2211010189 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 2338 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Several foreign mercenaries in the ranks of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] have been captured. This includes (Milton Perezival Zea Menendez), from Guatemala; (Josephine Connelly Peacher), a North American; (Karen Leader River), a Canadian; and Marcela Rodriguez Diaz, a Colombian. They have told the authorities that they joined the FMLN, because the FMLN commanders, with help from Nicaragua, made them believe that the Salvadorans support the FMLN. However, they said, we have realized that all this is false, because the Salvadoran people reject the FMLN and support their government and their Armed Forces.

Venceremos Views Army Plan for Action

PA2111121089 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0036 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The fighting that will define the outcome of the war began 1 week ago, and it is appropriate to pause and review some issues which might create some doubts.

The first impression about the fighting in San Salvador and the country's most important cities is that it only provoked a disproportionate and irrational reply from the Armed Forces, which are accustomed to violently repressing the opposition to counter any threat to their stability. Following this reasoning, some might think that the logical conclusion is that it would have been better had the fighting never started.

Nevertheless, the irrationality of fascism results from its refusal to acknowledge another way of defeating the adversary other than his elimination, and not in its inability to prepare a rational military and political plan. The truth is that the existence of a perfectly prepared Army plan had been known for several months. The plan called for a lightning action against the leaders of the people's movement and all forms of civilian opposition the moment the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] launched a large-scale operation in the capital to unleash a general uprising. The plan was even reported by the UNOC [National Peasant-Worker Unity] and other social groups in the country.

The Army explicitly said that it had lists, complete with addresses, of each and every one of the opposition, social group, and labor union members so as to efficiently carry out its plan. The Army had also prepared a special squad operation to launch the plan at the appropriate moment.

A component part of the plan was not known, but it appeared in due time—the plan was duly accompanied by disturbances and propaganda. People may recall that Radio Cuscatlan's incitement campaign specifically mentioned Ignacio Ellacuria, Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, Guillermo Ungo, Ruben Zamora, Humberto Centeno, and many other persons whose deaths would have represented a harsh blow—at least a moral blow—to the opposition. Other assassinations would follow once the major blow was dealt.

Within the framework of this plan, the Jesuit priests would be massacred, the offices of the Social Christian People's Movement would be raided and searched, and the residences of the mass organization leaders would be raided and searched. The last of these blows fell through because the people's movement had taken the necessary precautions once the plan was known.

The bombings carried out against the civilian population in recent days represent an important part of the government's plan. In the beginning, the government officials did not think it was necessary to use the Air Force because they never thought we had the people's support, but they did not hesitate one instant before launching the machine-gun and rocket attacks when our presence in the zone proved the contrary. They even reached the extreme of ordering that powerful bombs be dropped when the situation spread. Their goal was to violently prevent the people's organization and, in the last instance, a general rebellion.

Everything seems to indicate that the civilian populace will have no opportunity to participate in the political struggle, but that is not so. The labor movement and the political organizations are intact. The special situation which has been created demands different mechanisms for action, and new opportunities will be created as the regime's political weakness increases, so that all the social and political groups in the country may create a national project to replace the fascist one.

FMLN Occupies Lolotique in San Miguel

PA2111140589 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1330 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Here is a last-minute report reaching our station through our radio communications. It states that Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] forces have occupied the township of Lolotique in San Miguel Department.

We will be expecting more information from our communications colleagues, who will be bringing us expanded reports.

Greetings to our colleagues who have occupied Lolotique in San Miguel Department.

FMLN Urges Diplomatic Security To Avoid Clashes

PA2111173989 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1720 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Your attention, please. Radio Venceremos appeals to the diplomatic corps to have embassy non-Salvadoran security guards avoid accidental clashes at all times. Therefore, we advise the non-Salvadoran security forces at the embassies that the best thing is to stay inside the embassy to try to avert any accidental clashes that might occur. For the time being, this is the most prudent thing to do for the security of the embassies of all the diplomatic corps. Get inside the embassy and avoid accidental clashes. This is the call that Radio Venceremos is making to the diplomatic corps.

FMLN Reports 21 Army Casualties in Fighting

PA2211041989 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0236 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] This is a report from Ozatlan, Usulutan. Enemy soldiers have fled from us in both San Salvador and Usulutan Departments. According to a report we received, an FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] column fought a Jucuaran Battalion company west of Ozatlan. Our forces confused and chased this company away. The enemy requested air support. The Air Force sent an A-37 plane, one rocket-firing helicopter, and two O-2 planes, all of which fired on populated areas.

Our men inflicted 21 casualties, including dead and wounded, on the enemy forces. The wounded include the company's second in command. In Ozatlan, our men seized 1 M-16 rifle, 3,000 rounds of ammunition, 10 knapsacks, 90-mm grenades, and other war supplies.

D'Aubuisson Comments on National Situation

PA2111195789 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1906 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Congressman Roberto D'Aubuisson has told the national network for peace that the communist murderers of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] launched their criminal offensive against the Salvadoran people with the connivance of the leftist Democratic Convergence and other front organizations.

The political leader said that the FMLN Marxist-Leninists' goal was to get the people to take up arms and to provoke a nationwide rebellion so that they could take over power through the force of arms. They did not achieve this purpose because the Salvadoran people reject violence, and have repeatedly voted for a free and democratic system instead of a communist regime run by the FMLN murderers.

D'Aubuisson added that when the terrorists realized that they did not have the support of the people or international [word indistinct], the guerrillas rejected a peaceful solution and decided to take the path of arms. The

Armed Forces now have the level of morale needed to annihilate them, but the government will continue to seek a peaceful solution because that is what the civilian population of El Salvador really needs.

Labor Leaders Accused of FMLN Association

PA2111200889 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1906 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Juan Humberto Flores, an FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] terrorist recently captured by Army soldiers, has said that Julio Cesar Gordillo, Humberto Centeno, Marco Tulio Lima, and other leaders of the leftist UNTS [National Union of Salvadoran Workers] are members of the various groups that comprise the FMLN. Flores, leader of the Committee of Dismissed and Unemployed Workers of El Salvador, CODYDES, and of the UNTS, said that Julio Cesar Gordillo, former ANDES 21 June [21 June National Association of Salvadoran Teachers] secretary general, is an active member of the FMLN and directed terrorist operations in Soyapango. Flores also said that COACES [Confederation of Cooperative Associations of El Salvador] leader Marco Tulio Lima is a member of the UNTS international affairs committee. Juan Humberto Flores added that Humberto Centeno is a member of the FPL [Farabundo Marti Peoples Liberation Forces] and of the FMLN international affairs committee. Centeno is also responsible for negotiating aid from Mexico and Nicaragua for the FMLN.

Guatemala

Cerezo Blames Cristiani 'Inefficiency' for Crisis

PA2111121389 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 19 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] Guatemala, 19 Nov—President Vinicio Cerezo has tacitly blamed President Alfredo Cristiani's administration for the crisis prevailing in the country as a result of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front's (FMLN) offensive which was launched on Saturday 11 November.

Cerezo attended the conclusion of a seminar sponsored by the Central American Institute for Political Studies (INCEP) on 17 November. The event was held at 2100 at the Guatemala Fiesta Hotel.

The new Central American vice president of the Christian Democratic Organization of America (ODCA) was sworn in at the event. Carlos Morales Ehrlich, of El Salvador, was replaced by Professor Catalina Soberanis, of Guatemala.

During his speech Morales Ehrlich blamed the extreme right death squads of El Salvador for the assassination of six Jesuit priests at the Central American University.

During his speech, which was more like an informal chat, President Cerezo attributed the situation that prevails in El Salvador to President Cristiani's inefficiency.

Minister Denies Army Involvement in El Salvador

PA2111122089 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 20 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] Guatemala City, 20 Nov (by our own correspondent)—Guatemalan Defense Minister General Hector Alejandro Gramajo, when rejecting versions that members of the Guatemalan Armed Forces had been sent to El Salvador, said that no Guatemalan military personnel have been sent to be involved in the Salvadoran war.

Information has circulated internationally alleging participation of Guatemalan military in reinforcing the Salvadoran Army, which is waging a hard battle against the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN.

"The troops are on the border, and it is absolutely false that some are fighting alongside the Salvadoran Armed Forces," Gramajo Morales said, referring to the watch being maintained following the upsurge in the war in El Salvador.

"There is only one member of the Guatemalan Army in the sister country, and he is the military attache at the Guatemalan Embassy."

Separately, Gramajo Moreno criticized statements made by some deputies regarding alleged involvement by Guatemalan troops in the Salvadoran conflict and on the increase of guerrilla actions in the western part of the national territory.

"The guerrillas are lost," Gramajo said when contradicting versions by parlamentarian Jose Garcia Bauer that the insurgent forces are growing and that they are in 12 of the country's departments.

Honduras

Nicaragua To Resume Lawsuit in The Hague

PA2211024689 Panama City ACAN in 2230 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 21 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—Nicaragua informed Honduras today that it will resume its lawsuit against Honduras at the International Court of Justice [ICJ] in The Hague, because the agreement to demobilize the Nicaraguan contras who are on Honduran territory has not been fulfilled.

The notice was delivered to Mario Maldonado Munoz, Honduran ambassador to Managua, who informed his country's Foreign Ministry of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's decision.

Nicaragua lodged its suit against Honduras at the ICJ in June 1987, accusing Honduras of allowing an anti-Sandinist rebel army to use Honduran territory for camps and to launch attacks against Nicaraguan territory.

However, the suit was suspended in August 1989, when the five Central American presidents met at the Honduran port of Tela and set a deadline of 5 December to demobilize, relocate, or repatriate the anti-Sandinists.

Honduras agreed to this measure, but made it conditional upon Nicaragua suspending its suit. Managua agreed, but said that the suit would be annulled if a certification was issued at the same time to the effect that the "contra" forces had been disbanded.

In statements on this matter, Honduran Foreign Minister Carlos Lopez Contreras said that the suit in The Hague is "political" in nature. He said that Honduras is prepared to file an answer, if the suit is reactivated.

In Tela, it was stipulated that the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV) would certify that the "contra" forces, estimated to total 12,000 men in Honduran territory, had ceased to exist as such.

However, with the deadline for demobilization 2 weeks away, the dismantling of the contras looks improbable.

Last week, the Nicaraguan Government and the anti-Sandinist leaders opened talks in Washington in an effort to agree on the demobilization of the rebels, but nothing has resulted from them thus far.

Azcona Seeks Arrangement for Unregistered Voters

PA2111213889 Tegucigalpa Televisora Hondurena in Spanish 0100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] At the Government House, the president has said that he has not ruled out the option of convening the National Security Council, if the Liberal and the National parties do not reach an agreement. Giovanni Garcia is here with a report.

[Garcia] President Jose Azcona said a few hours ago that he might call a National Security Council meeting, if the National and Liberal parties do not agree on an arrangement that would allow approximately 150,000 Hondurans who are not on the voting lists to vote.

[Begin Azcona recording] All of this is necessary to resolve this situation. There are a large number of citizens who are not on the voting lists, and we cannot allow this. Whoever has his papers in order is entitled to exercise the right to vote. This is provided for in the Constitution. [end recording]

[Garcia] This agreement was reached at an urgent meeting with Carlos Montoya, the president of the National Congress, because according to Montoya some 130,000 members of the Liberal Party would not be able to vote.

Azcona To Visit U.S. on Eve of Elections

PA2111202389 Tegucigalpa Televisora Hondurena in Spanish 0100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] President Jose Azcona will leave for the United States on 22 November for an unofficial visit. Azcona will be visiting his relatives, and he said that he would not be meeting with U.S. Government authorities on this occasion.

The Honduran president's trip has been announced when there are only a few days left before the general elections.

Nicaragua

Government Withdraws From Contra Peace Talks

PA2211011189 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2350 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, 21 Nov (EFE)—The Nicaraguan Government delegation withdrew today from the "peace talks" held with the contras since 9 November because it considered a proposal presented by the rebels today to be "totally absurd."

"The contras are not willing to reach an understanding because this afternoon they presented a totally absurd proposal which does not even include the departure of a single contra fighter from the country," said Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco, chief of the Nicaraguan Government delegation.

According to the proposal presented to the rebels on 20 November, the Nicaraguan Government demanded the withdrawal of 2,300 contras from the country, who, according to Tinoco, have entered Nicaraguan territory in the last 5 months. In previous proposals, the government had demanded the withdrawal of the 6,000 who are believed to be in the interior of the country.

"We are going to call up the Central American presidents for an urgent meeting to review this situation following this meeting and to decide on future steps," for the fulfillment of the agreements reached in Tela, Honduras, Tinoco said.

Moreover, Enrique Bermudez, chief of the contra delegation regretted "the decision made by the chief of the Sandinist delegation to withdraw from the talks," because the contras had taken some "positive steps."

Government Cuts 1990 Military Budget 50 Percent

PA2211020089 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2205 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Managua, 21 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—The Nicaraguan Government cut military expenditures from 50 to 35 percent of the national budget, which has been fixed at $370 million, it was officially reported today.

Nicaraguan Finance Minister William Hupper submitted the 1990 general budget to the National Assembly

today. The 1990 budget was reduced by a little over 50 percent of the current budget.

Of the $370 million, the Nicaraguan Government will use $86 million to pay for the military expenditures of the Sandinist regime, which has been ruling Nicaragua for over 10 years.

The budget bill submitted by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to the National Assembly, after Hupper presented it, was sent to the economy commission of the legislative branch.

Since the contras initiated their attacks against the revolutionary regime in 1981, the Sandinists allocated nearly 50 percent of the budget for the country's defense.

The huge military expenditure contributed toward speeding up the aggregate inflation rate in Nicaragua, which in 1988 reached over 26,000 percent.

Tinoco Denies Video as Salvador Guerrilla Link

PA2111151789 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1220 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] In Washington, seeking to link Nicaragua with the Salvadoran guerrillas, the U.S. Department of State yesterday showed reporters a video recording of FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] guerrillas training at EPS [Sandinist People's Army] military bases. The recording shows three of the top FMLN leaders, among them Joaquin Villalobos. By showing this video the U.S. State Department wanted to prove that Managua is supporting the Salvadoran insurgents. Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco has described the video recording as a set-up, a cheap propagandistic stunt to try to cover up the fact that the Salvadoran problem is a domestic issue worsened by U.S. intervention. Tinoco added that the Salvadoran guerrillas were already active in the 1960's, 15 years before the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] overthrew Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship.

Charge Interviewed on Diplomatic Evacuation

PA1811175589 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1600 GMT 18 NOV 89

[News conference by Norman Lacayo, Nicaraguan charge d'affaires in El Salvador, in the blue room of the Cesar Augusto Sandino International Airport in Managua; broadcast in progress—live]

[Text] [Lacayo] ....government against our embassy worsened. This campaign was initiated at the highest levels of the Salvadoran Government. On various occasions over the past 8 days, television, press, and radio have systematically broadcast statements by El Salvador's top military and political authorities, President Cristiani, Vice President Merino, and the head of ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance], etc, blaming Nicaragua for what is happening in El Salvador.

This campaign has been systematic and it has encouraged terrorist groups to threaten the lives and safety of Nicaragua's diplomatic representatives. Over the past few days, I have received many death threats from extremist sectors and, I repeat, this led the Nicaraguan Government to the decision to evacuate us.

This does not mean that diplomatic relations between the two countries are broken. It is a precautionary measure to ensure the entire mission's physical safety. We requested diplomatic protection from the Mexican Government and received a positive response. We went today from the residence of the Mexican ambassador in El Salvador to the airport, and from there to Managua.

If you have any questions, I will be glad to answer them.

[Reporter] A question from Radio Sandino. First of all, since you got a first-hand view, what is the current situation in El Salvador; second, is this a provisional measure or will it be extended; how long will this measure last?

[Lacayo] I cannot say how long it will last. That is up to the government, and it will depend on the internal situation in the country. Regarding your first question, the situation is difficult. On a military level, the war continues; there is a good deal of misinformation by the Salvadoran Government and many international news agencies. The truth is that the battle continues, there has been considerable physical destruction in many towns and neighborhoods on the outskirts of San Salvador. You know which towns are included: Zacamil, Ciudad Delgado, Soyapango, etc. This is the result of the indiscriminate bombings by the Salvadoran Air Force.

[Reporter] There is a report that Somozist guards are fighting with the Salvadoran Army. Is there anything to this?

[Lacayo] There are rumors to that effect. Some insurgent radio stations have reported it, and they have also mentioned troops from other Central American governments.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Yes, but not with the persistence that prevails now.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Of course. Many telephone calls, surveillance by suspicious individuals and vehicles at the residence throughout the day, and especially direct threats by telephone.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] I would imagine they are Salvadoran rightwing extremists, better known as death squads. They began to selectively shoot people. There is the case of Mrs Norma Girola de Herrera, president of the Womens Institute, a very progressive institution. Mrs Herera was very well

known, and she was murdered under circumstances very similar to those of the assassination of the Jesuits; on the same day.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] I do not have any more information because of the city's militarization. A state of siege has been implemented, the circulation of vehicles is minimal, communication is sparse, telephones are tapped.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Yes, that has been proven.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] They are waging a war which consists at times of maintaining positions, at other times of mobilizing. On several occasions controlled areas ceased to be controlled but the war continues.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] No, I do not know. The government did that directly through the Foreign Ministry.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] No, because we did not know. However, the truth is that we never had protection. We never had police protection at the residence although it was requested through the Foreign Ministry. The embassy had two policemen, but during this period they left and the embassy is without police protection.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] That has been said about Guatemala and Honduras.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] As a report and in the press.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] What is being denounced is that U.S. pilots are already manning Salvadoran helicopters. According to the charges, this is being done at night.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] I cannot answer that question. It would have to be taken up with the authorities of the Foreign Ministry.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Yes. This was communicated through the diplomatic mission that gave us diplomatic protection, that is, through the Mexican Embassy. They were informed about this protection, and at this very moment we are informing them about our withdrawal from Salvadoran territory.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Five Nicaraguans: Companero Sergio Ramirez Tapia, the first secretary, who also functioned as the consul; Companera Marina Sequeira, attache; Companera Ligia Lopez, attache; Companero Alfredo Garcia, attache; and myself—five Nicaraguans in all.

[Reporter] Companero Lacayo, who will be in charge of the diplomatic mission now that all of the members of the Nicaraguan mission are leaving? Which embassy is going to be in charge of Nicaraguan interests in El Salvador?

[Lacayo] We do not know yet. Our Foreign Ministry, our government, will have to ask another government to take over the administration of the embassy's files. I do not have this information yet. Let us see what our Foreign Ministry decides this morning.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Lacayo] Officially speaking, no one. Unofficially, Mexico.

Commission Lifts Godoy Immunity in Fund Scandal

PA2111212089 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] A special National Assembly commission today decided that there is enough evidence to deprive Deputy Virgilio Godoy of his immunity; thus he may face charges for misuing funds sent to the Independent Liberal Party [PLI] by the FRG Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Godoy, who is the PLI president and vice presidential candidate for the pro-U.S. UNO [National Opposition Union], has been involved in a scandal for some time in which other members of his party are also implicated.

The parliamentary commission that studied the case recommended the suspension of Godoy's immunity rights based on the evidence gathered and presented by the accusers, one of whom is PLI member Juan Manuel Gutierrez.

Based on the evidence presented, the commission ruled that there is reason to believe that funds introduced into the country were not accounted for.

Soviet Official Arrives for Joint Meeting

PA2111202089 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Foreign Cooperation Minister Commander Henry Ruiz and Aleksandr Kachanov, Soviet first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, have met to prepare the agenda for the fifth session of the Nicaraguan-USSR Joint Commission which will begin 21 Novermber. Kachanov said that his proposals will include some parameters of the 1989 plan.

Meanwhile, Commander Ruiz said that the Soviet aid continues without restrictions or conditions.

Panama

Reporting, Comments on U.S. Action at Gorgas

Commander on Situation

PA2111174889 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1552 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Statement by Dignity Battalions Commander Dr Benjamin Colamarco on 21 November—live or recorded]

[Text] We interrupt this program again to report on the situation taking place at reverted areas of the Canal, especially near the SNEM [National Service for Malaria Eradication] U.S. troops have been closing the roads and continue the harassment that began on 20 November of Panamanians who have to transit in that area. We have established contact with Dignity Battalions Commander Dr Benjamin Colamarco who will briefly explain the development of events in that area. Go ahead, Commander Colamarco.

[Colamarco] Radio Nacional audience, the situation at the SNEM is the following: Today at dawn U.S. troops using armored vehicles and cranes set up concrete barricades to the SNEM parking lots which is a violation of the sovereignty of our territory and our country. In reaction to this, people's forces, patriots, and citizens have come to the SNEM area to remove the concrete barricades to areas where they will not obstruct the arrival and departure of SNEM vehicles and Panamanian civilian personnel in the area.

Reacting to this situation, the United States has deployed in the area an excessive number of armored vehicles and soldiers in combat gear carrying large-caliber rifles and grenade launchers. The troops are trying to intimidate civilian personnel currently in the area. We have remained calm and have asked our compatriots here not to fall into provocations. Obviously, these actions seek to intimidate and provoke our people. We, in a wise but determined attitude, are expressing our indignation over and repudiation of this new violation of our sovereignty by the U.S. Army. The weapons and armored vehicles deployed by the U.S. Army at the SNEM installations is impressive. These installations were reverted to Panama through the 1977 Torrijos-Carter treaties.

There are hundreds of Panamanians here with a worthy and calm attitude to avoid falling into provocations. We demand respect for our sovereignty and the withdrawal of the war equipment, armored vehicles, grenades, and so on that the U.S. Army has deployed here. We also demand the removal of concrete barricades set here at the SNEM, which hinders the work this institution carries out for the benefit of Panamanian society and foreigners living in this country.

Therefore, we request that SNEM employees be allowed to work. We also demand respect for our sovereignty because violations of the national territory cannot continue. We have heard reports that wounded people from El Salvador are here or are arriving in the area. We have heard that Salvadoran Army officers and other Salvadoran personalities are here. We think this is the reason for the deployment of the forces. This, in sum, is the situation. We urge citizens to remain alert, to maintain a wise and energetic attitude according to the situation in which we are living, and to report these violations of sovereignty for the umpteenth time by the United States.

At this moment, U.S. armored vehicles have entered white areas, in other words, Panamanian terrority as is the remaining terrority here. Vehicles are blocking the entrances as well as the movement of a truck that came to pick up the concrete barricades which had been set in white areas. We are being blocked and threatened by the machine guns and the incredible number of armored vehicles. However, we remain here, with a worthy, patriotic, nationalistic, and very wise attitude to avoid falling into provocations. We urge citizens to remain calm and alert.

Thank you, Commander Colamarco, for your report. Thank you very much.

Call to Civilians

PA2111162289 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1540 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Telephone report by Baltazar Renan Aizpurua—live]

[Text] We are right now in front of the Gorgas Hospital, in the white areas. The offices housing the SNEM have been blocked since 0100 by huge cement cylinders. The commander of the Dignity Battalions, Benjamin Colamarco, [changes thought] a crane truck of IDAAN [National Water and Sanitation Institute] cleared the area of the cylinders. Then the U.S. Army illegally stationed in Panama surrounded the truck with armored personnel carriers. The people are now confronting this new act of aggression, carrying flags and banners.

We consider the situation very tense, as we have seen the soldiers manipulating their weapons, and the soldiers appear to be very nervous. At any moment, a shot might be fired by mistake or intentionally and provoke a major incident. The armored personnel carriers do not allow the IDAAN truck carrying the cement cylinders to get through. However, the Panamanians, with their flags and baring their chests, are standing in front of the armored personnel carriers. Some of these vehicles have even moved, and the Panamanians did not move back.

We call on the Panamanian citizens to go to Gorgas Hospital. It is about time we defend our institutions, our territory. Not one inch of national territory can continue to be trampled on. We cannot allow the violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties by the bold orders of George Bush. This is Baltazar Renan Aizpurua, saying goodbye for now, from the Gorgas Hospital area.

[Station announcer] Baltazar, we would like to know if there are any Panama Defense Forces soldiers in the area, or are there only civilians in the area? [telephone contact apparently broken at this point] Well, I guess Baltazar Renan Aizpurua will continue reporting from the SNEM office areas. Thank you, and we will continue reporting.

More on Situation

PA2111191889 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1747 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] As we reported a few minutes ago, U.S. Southern Command troops have blocked for more than 24 hours the surrounding areas and access roads leading to the facilities where the SNEM offices are located, in the reverted Panama Canal area, near Gorgas Hospital.

This action by the U.S. soldiers has prompted Panamanians from various places to go to the site to protest the intimidation by U.S. troops who flagrantly violate the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

Rafael Silva and David Carrasco will now report on recent developments:

[Begin live relay] [Silva] We are now in the reverted area of Ancon, accompanied by David Carrasco and Hilda Canengues. At this time, U.S. Air Force helicopters are overflying the area in an intimidating way. Tracked vehicles are still posted in the reverted Ancon area in front of Gorgas Hospital, in the military area, specifically near the military health section.

More and more courageous Panamanians are arriving here to shout slogans against these U.S. soldiers who have positioned themselves here, provoking and intimidating the brave civilian Panamanians who are here with flags and shouting slogans against U.S. imperialism.

David Carrasco has further details on the incidents taking place here in the reverted Ancon area.

[Carrasco] Thank you, Rafael. Dear listeners: A few minutes ago, Deputy Foreign Minister Abelardo Carles arrived with other Foreign Ministry officials to try to obtain factual information on the provocation of the U.S. Army in the Ancon area. Carles said that this is a flagrant violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties and of the resolution that the U.S. Government approved a few days ago at the OAS.

The people who have arrived here are waving Panamanian flags, signaling recognition of Panama's sovereignty in this part of our territory.

Mario Aguilar, a Health Ministry employee, has informed us that the U.S. troops entered this area at approximately 0250 today with fixed bayonets and heavy weapons in an attempt to intimidate the Health Ministry officials, who courageously faced U.S. provocations.

A group of Health Ministry workers were taken hostage in the Health Ministry office; reinforced concrete barriers were used as barricades to prevent access to the facilities.

Meanwhile, the Panamanian people's response has been really patriotic. At this time, various community groups have protested this arbitrary action by the U.S. Armed Forces, which have deployed troops in armored personnel carriers, protected by barbed wire, which on several occasions has caused injuries to people walking in this area.

Spirits are high in the sense that people are reaffirming their nationality and the principle of Panama's sovereignty over its territory. I believe that this is the current attitude. Despite U.S. provocations, the Panamanian people have remained calm. That is all I have to report right now. I think Rafael Silva, who has been here since very early this morning, has additional information.

[Silva] Thank you David. Radio Nacional listeners, early this morning we installed a transmission post here, from where we have been keeping the Panamanian community informed of the situation here at the reverted Ancon area, near the U.S. Gorgas Hospital. We will keep you informed of any further developments from this transmission post.

U.S. Soldiers Withdraw

PA2111194689 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1857 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Report by David Carrasco from area near Gorgas Military Hospital in Ancon—live]

[Text] We are in the Ancon reverted area, where a peaceful solution has been reached to the situation that began yesterday. The Americans who had occupied the Health Ministry installations in the Ancon area began to leave a few minutes ago. The U.S. soldiers are picking up the cement barricades that were blocking the Panamanian civilian personnel from entering this part of the canal territory.

Luis Mercado, a member of the Dignity Battalions leadership, is coordinating the eviction of the U.S. troops following a conversation between Panamanian and U.S. officers that lasted several hours.

Action Prompts Evacuation

PA2211120289 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0255 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Panama City, 21 Nov (EFE)—The offices of the two major Panamanian opposition parties were evacuated today "for security reasons," opponents of the regime have informed.

Leaders of the MOLIRENA (Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement) and of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) ordered the evacuation of the offices "as a precautionary measure" in view of the tension experienced

in the capital when regime supporters and U.S. armored vehicles faced each other for several hours.

Panamanian military sources have announced in the past few days that there is a list of 50 Panamanian opposition supporters, who will be "executed" if an attack is carried out against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP].

Guillermo Ford, former vice presidential candidate for the MOLIRENA, personally ordered the evacuation of the offices, party sources have indicated.

Ford told EFE that he asked the administrative personnel to leave the offices "because we do not know what might happen."

Offices of the PDC, the major opposition political party, were also evacuated "following reports of possible clashes" between regime supporters and U.S. soldiers, PDC President Ricardo Arias Calderon told EFE.

This morning, several U.S. armored vehicles were positioned in front of Gorgas Hospital in the Panamanian capital, and they faced about 100 people who protested the U.S. military maneuvers that were conducted in the area.

An FDP vehicle also showed up on the scene and it remained in front of the hospital along with the demonstrators and in front of some 140 U.S. soldiers and marines in a climate of great tension.

Panamanian military sources said on 20 November that several Salvadoran officers and soldiers, who had been wounded in the clashes in the last few days are being treated in the hospital which is under the administration of the U.S. Southern Command.

After several tense hours, an agreement was reached between U.S. and Panamanian military men in which the former agreed to remove some obstacles that they had placed in front of the hospital as a security measure in view of possible attacks.

Foreign Ministry Comments

PA2211000689 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 2205 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Communique issued by the Foreign Ministry in Panama City on 21 November—read by announcer]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry announces to the national and international public that on 20 and 21 November, the U.S. Army has conducted intimidating military maneuvers against the Panamanian people and nation, occupying the vicinity of the Gorgas Hospital with tanks, rocket launchers, bazookas, and infantrymen. They blocked public offices belonging to the Health Ministry, the Judicial Branch, and the Attorney General's Office.

The maneuvers constitute an arrogant lack of respect for the national sovereignty, a violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, and an insolent challenge to the recent resolution issued by the OAS General Assembly, which reaffirms the principles of free self-determination and nonintervention in the internal affairs of our country. All OAS member states were asked to refrain from carrying out unilateral actions that could obstruct the fair and negotiated solution to our problems. It reiterates the importance that the OAS gives to the strict compliance of the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

The Foreign Ministry believes such maneuvers constitute a serious military provocation whose clear objective is to create conditions that could justify the unjustifiable.

The armed intervention is aimed at making us give in and at preventing the enhancement of our national independence.

In view of such actions, the Foreign Ministry asks the people to remain calm and to turn our territory into a giant flag that could be used to show the aggressor our unbreakable commitment to continue being Panamanians.

The Foreign Ministry calls the attention of the international community to the imminent danger of these warmongering actions which could lead to a general conflict that could create more pain and sorrow in the Central American isthmus. Signed in Panama City, 21 November 1989

Battalion Leader Comments

PA2111213789 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1858 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Interview with Luis Mercado, "member of the Dignity Battalions leadership," at the Ancon area by reporter David Carrasco and Rafael Silva, deputy chief of Radio Nacional—live]

[Text] [Mercado] What has taken place here this afternoon? I hear the Panamanian people rejoicing.

[Mercado] Thank you, Radio Nacional. This afternoon, the Panamanian people, the Dignity Battalions, and the CODEPADI [Committees for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] achieved victory here. Lengthy conversations took place this afternoon, and as a result, the United States has withdrawn its tanks, armored personnel carriers, and soldiers from the Panamanian area that was being soiled by them. The Panama Defense Forces [FDP] will be in charge of surveillance at the parking lot here. The Americans are going to withdraw into their green areas, in other words, to the Gorgas Hospital area, and they will stay there.

There was a big argument over that, but we achieved our goal. We insisted the troops should not trample on our sovereignty on the Panamanian side, which is where the SNEM has its offices. The FDP participation was decisive, and it upheld an upright position of not yielding at all to the U.S. plans to take over Panamanian territory, as they did early this morning at 0330.

At that time, the U.S. soldiers crossed Panamanian borders and proceeded to place their tanks and these cement blocks. They once again took over Panama. The SNEM workers were surrounded and forced to move to this other building. Their lives were threatened. Two FDP members were also held at gunpoint. All of this took place early this morning. The courageous attitude of the FDP, Dignity Battalions, and CODEPADI has again put a stop to this, and therefore we have achieved another victory. These soldiers had to leave the positions they had taken over, and they must remove these tanks from Panamanian territory.

[Carrasco] What will the members of the Dignity Battalions do if this intervention reoccurs? Today, they have maintained a vigil since the beginning of the intervention early this morning.

[Mercado] Our garrisons are in a state of alert. We are right now on Code Squirrel [Clave Ardilla]. One group will stay here for a while to observe and to make sure no violations are committed again. We are gathered in our various garrisons, and we are in a state of alert, just like the FDP.

[Silva] Can you tell us something about the measures adopted by the Dignity Battalions?

[Mercado] In the first place, all personnel are restricted to quarters and combat ready. The four battalions of Panama Province are ready, in combat gear, and the companeros have received specific instructions on what to do in the event of an aggression. The companeros will be able to move to where we keep our supplies, which is what we did early this morning when the companeros were here at 0400 with their vehicles, ready to confront the imperialist aggression.

[Silva] David, could you describe for the Radio Nacional listeners what the U.S. troops are doing here? They have many photographers and cameramen in uniform here. They probably belong to the U.S. intelligence groups.

[Carrasco] I think so. At any rate, the Panamanians are euphoric, carrying Panamanian flags. They are waving their flags in front of the armored personnel carriers, which are apparently being removed now together with the troops that were posted in the installations of the Health Ministry in the Ancon area. It is significant that during the entire incident that began early this morning, there was not a specific physical confrontation. This shows the Panamanian people can answer calmly the threats of intervention.

Many foreign newsmen are here also, and they said they are astonished to see the Panamanians behave in such a peaceful and orderly fashion in the face of the warlike display of the U.S. troops who moved armored personnel carriers and heavy weaponry to the area near the Health Ministry in Ancon area. In the background, you can hear the shouting and euphoria of the Panamanians as they see the U.S. armored personnel carriers leaving, while the Panamanians shout patriotic slogans in this Panama Canal area, Panamanian territory.

[Silva] Thank you, David. Our people are dignified, peaceful people who want to live in peace, who want better days for our country. We see our courageous people here in the Ancon reverted areas shouting slogans for dignity and sovereignty. Our Radio Nacional equipment will stay here until the last soldier leaves and withdraws into the green military coordination area.

State Council Warns of Danger to U.S. Citizens

PA2211013489 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0011 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] In Panama, the General State Council met today and held the Bush administration, the main opposition leaders, and their national and foreign collaborators responsible for any criminal attack against Commander Manuel Antonio Noriega and other Panamanian nationalist leaders.

The General State Council said that in view of the magnitude of the people's wrath and the clamor for vengeance that will undoubtedly spread throughout the country in the event of an attack against the Panama Defense Forces commander in chief or other patriotic leaders, it will be very difficult for the Panamanian Government to answer for the security of neither opposition leaders and local and foreign collaborators with the terrorist policy of the current U.S. Administration, nor U.S. citizens or interests inside or outside Panamanian territory.

The General State Council announces that the Republic of Panama, exercising its natural right to legitimate defense, will demand support as well as political and physical solidarity from patriotic and revolutionary nations and organizations of the Third World which, like our country, are faced with the violent policy of domination which the U.S. administration imposes on them with absolute scorn for the most elementary rules of equity and peaceful coexistence enshrined in international law, especially in the UN and OAS Charters.

The statement issued by the General State Council is signed by Provisional Panamanian President Francisco Rodriguez, Vice President Carlos Ozores, the cabinet ministers, and all other members of the General State Council.

FDP Troops, Dignity Battalions Stage March

PA2111182689 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1750 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Panama City, 21 Nov (ACAN - EFE)—The Panama Defense Forces (FDP) today began operation "An Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth" with the mobilization of troops and Dignity Battalion members to "make those responsible for an attack" on Panamanian strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega "pay dearly."

"Those who dare to harm our leaders will pay very dearly for their boldness," Major Daniel Delgado [chief of the 11th military zone in San Miguelito District] said during a 16-km march in which elite FDP troops and Dignity Battalion members participated.

Delgado said these operations are "a message to the United States so it will get its hands out of Panama," and he added that they "will continue in view of the activities by the gringos." He said they will culminate on 28 November with a rally in Panama City.

In the past few days, sources of the regime warned that if the United States carries out an attack on Noriega, 50 opposition members "will be executed."

According to the progovernment newspaper CRITICA, this list, about which no details were given, "is in the hands of the specialized people's commandos."

"The warning is directed at the traitors who will pay with their lives if there is an attempt to assassinate Noriega," Delgado said.

According to Maj Delgado, the operation will consist of defensive activities, tactical marches, parachute jumps, and "patrolling of the country's border areas," near the U.S. military bases on the banks of the canal or near the border with Costa Rica.

"We are going to be ready for any type of aggression," Delgado added. Delgado was accompanied by troops of the Tinajita garrison.

Dignity Battalions Conduct Chivo Chivo Exercise

PA2111123689 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 21 Nov 89 p 24

[From "The Griper" Column]

[Text] Alert in Chivo Chivo. The Dignity Battalions and the Tigres Company of Tinajita [Panama Defense Forces Garrison] today will carry out at 0930 various military exercises in Chivo Chivo on the Transisthmian [highway].

Regime Unleashes 'Wave of Arrests, Intimidation'

PA2111172989 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish 0300 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Panamanian Christian Democratic Party [PDC] commemorated its 29th anniversary with a mass at the Don Bosco church at 1700 on 20 November. The event was attended by leaders, members, and friends of the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance.

Meanwhile, over the weekend, approximately 100 opposition leaders have had the walls of their houses painted with threatening messages. The word, traitors, has been painted on the houses of opposition leaders in Colon Province. The regime has been accusing the opposition members of being traitors. In Penonome, Cocle Province, the main opposition leaders found that black or red crosses had been painted on the walls of their houses.

Mary Alfaro de Villageliu, an opposition activist, was prevented from taking a flight abroad at the Omar Torrijos international airport on 19 November. When she asked why she was not permitted to travel abroad, she was told that she needed a special permit from the government and Justice Ministry to leave the country.

PDC Vice President Carlos Arellano was detained at the airport when he returned from Guatemala. Arellano's suitcase was thoroughly searched.

Panamanian President-Elect Guillermo Endara miraculously escaped a military attempt to arrest him. Two of his aides, Miguel Batista and Ivan Mujica, were arrested on 19 November. However, Endara escaped the ambush, and he is now at a safe location.

The military regime canceled weekend leave for its troops and has begun a propaganda campaign of intimidation through the newspapers of the Renovacion Publishing Company, ERSA, which is directly controlled by a section of the G-2, military intelligence. The newspapers have begun a campaign of threats against the opposition, allegedly in response to a U.S. covert operation.

A wave of arrests and questioning of opposition figures was unleashed a few days ago. Dr Mario Galindo of MOLIRENA [Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement] was detained by members of the Defense Forces. Endara, who overwhelmingly won the 7 May elections, has not yielded and he has become a threat to the military regime. The arrest [of Galindo] was carried out in the afternoon and at this time, vice presidents-elect Ricardo Arias Calderon and Guillermo Ford are talking with the apostolic nuncio.

Endara in Hiding

PA2111171289 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 21 Nov 89 p A-1

[Text] Opposition sources linked to the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance reported on 20 November that members of the Panama Defense Forces' G-2 unit had arrested Miguel Batista and Ivan Mojica, aides to former opposition presidential candidate Guillermo Endara.

According to the opposition report, members of the G-2 arrested Batista and Mojica at 1530 on Sunday, 19 November.

The two men were arrested while they were accompanying Mr. Endara following the conclusion of a meeting by a women's group at the Hotel Ejecutivo. The whereabouts of the two politicians is not known.

According to the same sources, Endara went into hiding immediately after his two aides were arrested on 20 November. [date as published]

The sources added that Endara was scheduled to report to the Public Prosecutor's office yesterday to be questioned regarding two accusations of "illicit association" for the purpose of assassinating General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Labor Ministry Takes 'Extreme' Security Measures

PA2111214789 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 21 Nov 89 p 5

[From the "Scoops" column]

[Text] In view of the increasing aggression and harassment by the gringo army against our people, the MITRBAS's [Labor Ministry] CODEPADI [Committees for The Defense of The Fatherland and Dignity] have adopted defense positions and extreme security measures. The measures have been coordinated by the minister's office and all Labor Ministry sections. Well done! And more on the same subject. The DIGEDECOM [General Directorate for Community Development] rank and file have come up with a very interesting slogan in response to the White House's macabre plans against the leaders of our process of national liberation. The slogan says: "If something happens to the commander, [General Manuel Antonio Noriega], total war. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Over. [quotation marks as published]

Minister Kam Comments Further on OAS Meeting

PA2211054989 Panama Domestic Service in Spanish 1656 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Following an active participation at the 19th meeting of the OAS' Ordinary Assembly which took place in Washington last week, Panamanian Foreign Minister Leonardo Kam gave the National Information System his opinion on the results of this meeting:

[Beging recording] [Kam] I believe the assembly achieved some modest results. The assembly had a very broad agenda, Panama was one of the main topics with the results I have already mentioned. The assembly also discussed such topics as drug trafficking, and strengthening the OAS, which I believe is important. There is a great debate on mechanisms for strengthening the OAS' role in the region and some headway has been made on this. I describe the achievements as modest because we still are not seeing enough efforts by member states to make the changes needed by the OAS to face serious and profound regional problems.

[Reporter] Is the OAS still pursuing U.S. interests?

[Kam] It does so less and less every time a country becomes more and more aware of its own interests and needs, which are different from U.S. interests. I believe that the U.S. hegemonic role is beginning to deteriorate. In fact, in Panama's case, the United States was unable to attain all the goals it had set for itself, not even on the most important issues it wanted to achieve regarding Panama. If they ended up supporting the Group of Eight proposal it was purely because of political opportunism.

[Reporter] Did Panama achieve its goals?

[Kam] In general terms, I believe we had a positive balance, and we achieved the essential objectives.

[Reporter] In the case of the specific problem Panama faces on 1 January, should Panama take some other action to ensure compliance with the Torrijos-Carter treaties?

[Kam] Of course, and that action will be taken regardless of whether we are a member of the Group of Eight or not. This is something that is not conditioned upon being in the Group of Eight. It is in our own national interest that we develop and defend this action regardless of whether or not we belong to the Group of Eight or any group of countries. [end recording]

Decree on Session of Corregimiento Representatives

PA2211004389 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 2255 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text of Decree No. 81 issued by President Francisco Rodriguez in Panama City on 21 November—read by announcer]

[Text] Decree No. 81 of 21 November 1989 convenes the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives to session.

The provisional president of the Republic, according to his legal authority:

Whereas, by means of Agreement No. 6 signed on 9 November 1989, the General State Council restored the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives, which should exercise the powers that the political constitution of the Republic of Panama assigns to the legislative branch with the exceptions established by the said agreement;

Whereas, the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives will meet quarterly in any part of the country on the date it convenes, but could meet at any time in special sessions as convened by the executive branch or by its coordinator as established in paragraph 1.26 of the first resolution of Agreement No. 6 signed on 9 November 1989;

Whereas, it is necessary for the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives to hold its first meeting as soon as possible so that decisions can be made regarding its operation and matters as established in the political constitution of the Republic of Panama and the legal instrument, which led to its reestablishment;

Decrees:
Article 1: To convene the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives to special sessions, which will be held in Panama City on Wednesday, 22 November 1989 so that decisions are made regarding its operations and regarding other matters as established in the political constitution of the Republic of Panama and Agreement No. 6 signed on 9 November 1989 by the General State Council.

Article 2: The current decree will be in effect on the date issued.
To be promulgated and executed.
Signed in Panama City, 21 November 1989
Francisco A Rodriguez, provisional president of the Republic of Panama
Renato Pereira, government and justice minister.

Government Begins Paying Public Employee Wages

PA2111163289 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1111 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] On Wednesday, 22 November the Panamanian Government will continue paying public employees' wages corresponding to the first 2 weeks of November 1989.

According to the staggered method adopted by the Panamanian Finance and Treasury Ministry, public employees earning salaries between 401 and 750 balboas a month will be paid on 22 November.

On Friday, 24 November, the government will pay public employees earning over 751 balboas a month.

Public employees earning less than 400 balboas a month were paid in the afternoon of Monday, 20 November.

According to statements by Finance and Treasury Minister Orville Goodin, this type of payment calendar was adopted because of the U.S. interference in Panamanian domestic affairs.

Argentina

Economy Ministry Official Views Exchange Market

PY2111044889 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2110 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 20 Nov (DYN)—Economic Coordination Secretary Orlando Ferreres today predicted a future recession if the exchange market and the price-influencing agents are not quickly stabilized.

Ferreres indicated that the government's policy involves heavy taxation in December to reduce the liquidity of the different markets. He added that if the exchange market and prices continue to rise in spite of these measures, they "will be directly responsible for the inevitable resultant recession."

Ferreres added that in order to prevent speculation, "there will be no modification or change" in the current government rules, which he described as "clear" and designed to achieve the level of stability "fundamental" for the success of the economic plan.

The economic coordination secretary made these remarks to journalists accredited to the Economy Ministry. He reiterated that the Central Bank does not get involved in restraining the dollar exchange rate, and commented that the exchange rate can reach "any level," because the monetary authorities "will not participate in the black market."

Ferreres added that, if the Treasury absorbs $500 or $600 million, it will reduce the available money supply. He said that this situation "will give rise to an extraordinary recession," as long as the people "do not agree with thinking of the economic authorities."

Ferreres added that this situation could adversely affect economic activities and the entire economic life, as long as the people continue to rely on the black market instead of the official market.

Ferreres also reiterated that both the Central Bank and the entire financial system " has clearly defined everything." He predicted that "there will be no changes" in the rules, because "stability is essential."

"Therefore, do not expect any news, measures, or any other step, because there will be none," he added.

Asked about the sharp price increase in basic family necessities, Ferreres said that these could cause a "possible recession," because the erosion of the people's purchasing power could be blamed on the "large exchange brokers and price-influencing enterprises." He added that the large exchange brokers and price-influencing enterprises "will be directly responsible, because the people will not be able to afford basic foodstuffs."

The economic coordination secretary said that the prices of foodstuffs "are related" to the parallel exchange rate. He added that, as long as "a large portion of the money supply is related to taxes," these prices "will continue to be related to the official dollar exchange rate."

Regarding the cost of living indicators for the first half of November, Ferreres confirmed that for the first or the second week of November they stand at "1.3 and 1.8," respectively.

Asked about the limits that the government would accept before changing its exchange policy, the economic coordination secretary said that "it is very difficult to establish limits in such a small market." Nevertheless, he admitted that the current parallel dollar exchange rates "are beyond any economic limit," and give rise to speculative "expectations." Under these circumstances, he said, "it is difficult to make predictions."

Ferreres said: "It is useless to establish limits, because to do so would mean essentially trying to maintain an official dollar exchange rate that would have to be fiscally balanced, not only from the viewpoint of the Treasury [passage indistinct]."

Ferreres also pointed out that the current financial market situation "is not based" on the economic plan, but rather on "chance." He mentioned "political" reasons and "alleged" changes that could take place as of 10 December 1989, although he ruled out "possible changes" in the national Cabinet.

"We believe that this situation will not last long. We are aware of the risks involved in paying these prices that are completely unrealistic in relation to the development of the economic plan," Ferreres said.

Asked if economists Ignacio Chojo Ortiz and Alejandro Mayoral would join the Economy Ministry, Ferreres confirmed that they will act as advisers to the economic coordination under secretariat, which is headed by Pedro Segess.

Ferreres reiterated that there will be no changes "at all" made to the national ministerial Cabinet on 10 December 1989. He said that "the rules will remain the same and that the country wants long-term stability [closing quotation marks as received]. He emphasized that "there are no magic dates."

Bolivia

Iturralde Discusses OAS Sea Outlet Resolution

PY2111105389 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 0000 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bolivian Foreign Minister Carlos Iturralde emphasized the positive aspects of the OAS resolution on Bolivia's maritime claim today. This resolution described the problem as a matter of permanent interest in the hemisphere. The Chilean Foreign Minister and the Chilean ambassador to the OAS downplayed the significance of this resolution.

The foreign minister admitted that the most important OAS resolution for Bolivia was issued in 1979. The meeting was held in La Paz, and the representatives of Latin American nations firmly supported Bolivia's claim to a sea outlet.

Iturralde said that, since 1979, the OAS resolutions on Bolivia's sea issue have been losing strength. He added that the Bolivian Government, taking into consideration this background, [word indistinct] at the latest assembly to make the claim a permanent issue. [recorded passage indistinct]

The foreign minister also announced that a group has been created to work on a long-term national plan for recovering the sea coast for Bolivia. He explained, however, that the details of this plan and its international aspects will be treated very carefully to avoid dissemination of information that could have an effect on other nations.

Minister Iturralde commented that the reaction of the Chilean Government to the OAS resolution is what might have been expected from Pinochet's government and from those that preceded him, because Chile's policy has always been to deny Bolivia the right to a sovereign outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

[Begin Iturralde recording] I want to tell you that the support that this resolution received is a victory. Last year [words indistinct] and certain paragraphs only obtained 16 votes. [end recording]

Carlos Iturralde pointed out that the latest OAS resolution obtained the support of 22 countries. The most important achievement is that now the maritime claim may be brought up within the framework of the OAS whenever any of the parties involved deems it appropriate.

Planning Minister Evaluates Economic Situation

PY2111125089 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 0000 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Planning and Coordination Minister Enrique Garcia has revealed that the economic policy being implemented by the national unity administration will maintain the targets set for the rest of 1989.

Minister Garcia said his evaluation is based on indications from the various areas of the national economy that, because of the current responsible administration, Bolivia will comply with the terms of the agreements signed with the IMF.

Garcia said the public sector consolidated deficit at the end of 1989 will be less than 25 percent of the GDP. He added that the inflation rate is lower than the 15 percent planned for the period, and that this is a very reasonable level of inflation. Garcia said that, compared to last year's inflation rate, this percentage is very low. Minister Garcia has explained that [word indistinct] and the level of resources obtained from domestic savings and international reserves, like all other indicators, are extremely satisfactory. He added that, based on these positive results, the government will plan the 1990 financial law.

The minister said that these positive results will also allow the government to mobilize resources through the Bolivian Central Bank in open-market operations on the stock hold market, and through other mechanisms that will be adequately used thanks to the financial stability reigning in the country.

Brazil

TSE Bulletins on Election Results Issued

Collor, Lula in Runoff Election

PY2111222889 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Today the Superior Electoral Court, TSE, completed the election returns with 100 percent of the votes from throughout the country.

Fernando Collor de Mello, presidential candidate for the PRN [National Reconstruction Party], and Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, candidate for the PT [Workers Party] will participate in the runoff elections.

Fernando Collor de Mello obtained 20,611,011, which represents 28.52 percent of the total vote. Lula, who will oppose Collor for the presidency in the runoff elections, obtained 11,622,673 votes or 16.08 percent of the vote. Lula is some 400,000 votes ahead of Leonel Brizola, who finished third. [passage omitted]

Candidates' Positions in Detail

PY2111113089 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1233 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We will now give you the vote count at the national level.

Fernando Collor de Mello	20,537,230 votes [as heard]	28.46%
Luis Inacio da Silva	11,602,020 votes	16.08%
Leonel Brizola	11,164,763 votes	
Mario Covas	7,785,825 votes	
Paulo Maluf	5,982,457 votes	
Gilherme Afif Domingos	3,270,130 votes	
Ulysses Guimaraes	3,199,892 votes	
Roberto Freire	768,462 votes	

These are the figures that have been obtained by the candidates according to the first bulletin issued this morning by the TSE [Superior Electoral Court] [passage omitted]

Some 11 Percent Fail To Vote

PY2111160289 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[By Sonia Filgueiras from Brasilia]

[Text] The vote count may end today. At 1000 the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) will release one more bulletin. The latest returns released by the TSE are as follows:

Fernando Collor de Mello is still leading with 20,495,385 votes, i.e., 28.44 percent of the total. Lula [Luis Inacio da Silva] comes second with 11,592,350 votes—16.09 percent of the votes. [Leonel] Brizola comes third with 11,162,135 votes—15.49 percent of the total. The difference between Lula and Brizola is now 430,215 votes.

There have been 1,170,363 blank votes, equivalent to 1.43 percent of the total; 3,462,645 void votes, equivalent to 4.24 percent of the total; and 9,682,952 voters, 11.84 percent of the total number of voters, have failed to vote in these elections. This number is higher than the total number of voters in Minas Gerais State, which is the second largest state in the country in terms of number of voters.

So far, 99.6 percent of all votes have been counted. The votes in some six counties in Amazonas, Para, and Minas Gerais States still have to be counted. Rondonia State finished counting yesterday afternoon.

The TSE will release its last bulletin on these elections this morning.

Sarney To Remain Neutral in Succession Process

PY2211005889 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] President Jose Sarney's private secretary, Augusto Marzagao, has issued a communique reasserting the president's neutral position during succession process.

The four-point communique notes that Sarney's duty is to preside over the transition process, and that he does not wish to influence anybody's decision.

Further on, it asserts that President Sarney has neither commented nor voiced his opinion on the position to be adopted by any of his fellow partisans or friends, who are free to elect their candidates.

The president believes that his commitment to democracy cannot be compromised by personal intervention in the succession process.

PMDB National Board To Support Lula da Silva

PY2111134089 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[By Yara Selva from Brasilia]

[Text] The national executive board of the Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party (PMDB) has unanimously decided to support Luis Inacio Lula da Silva's presidential candidacy. The decision was made in Brasilia during a 4-hour meeting.

PMDB Chairman Jarbas Vasconcelos said that although the national executive board has unanimously made this decision, the PMDB will consult the governors, the PMDB congressmen, and the PMDB regional boards. Vasconcelos also reported that the PMDB national board will meet at 1000 on 23 November to make a final decision.

Senator Jose Fogaca, the PMDB second vice president, explained how the PMDB intends to support the PT [Workers' Party] candidate:

[Begin Fogaca recording] We do not want any participation in the government, nor do we want to negotiate the government program. We simply believe that if the PT program is really implemented, it will be good for the country. All we will do is vote for the PT candidate. From his installation on, we will begin to control the implementation of his government program. We will be stern supervisors of this implementation, and we will be, above all, patriotic supervisors who are concerned only with the interests of the country. [end recording]

Senator Jose Fogaca also said that the PMDB knows the role it must play in the current political process well. This is why, he said, the PMDB wants most of all to keep the remnants of the military dictatorship, which are represented by candidate Collor de Mello, from once again becoming powerful in the country.

* Economic Woes of Arms Industry Discussed

* Deterioration in 1990

90ET0029A Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 Oct 89 p C8

[Article by Roberto Lopes]

[Excerpts] Beset by an absence of orders, credibility, and lobbying influence, the weapons industry in Brazil is threatened, as the end of the year approaches, with the prospect of harder times in 1990 than it experienced in 1988 and 1989 put together. According to unofficial figures obtained from the Brazilian Association of Defense Equipment Industries (ABIMDE), the investment budgets for the branches of the Armed Forces which have been established by the SEPLAN [Secretariat of Planning and Coordination of the Presidency of the Republic] for 1990 do not, taken together, total 900 million new cruzados (871 million, in August figures). This would not even be enough to honor the contracts already signed with national industries.

Adherbal Olivieri, the president of the association, says that there is still a danger that the Congress will make broad cuts in the budget before it is approved. According to the figures obtained from the directors of the

ABIMDE, Brazil, which spent 0.8 percent of its gross domestic product on this sector in 1989 (one of the lowest percentages in the world), will reduce this segment to 0.18 percent in 1990.

This would place the Brazilian military structure on the level of that of Luxembourg, a European country which is twice the size of Rio de Janeiro and has a population equivalent to that of the Copacabana quarter (southern zone of Rio) and only one infantry battalion—800 soldiers, who are better equipped than any of their Brazilian counterparts.

Last Thursday, FOLHA went to talk with an exhausted Pedro Vial, the director of government relations for AVIBRAS [Brazilian Aerospace Industry, Inc]. That day, a group of leaders of the Sao Jose dos Campos Metallurgical Workers Union had taken over the headquarters of the enterprise, which in 1987 held the national record for arms exports, but today owes back wages.

The AVIBRAS tragedy is no more serious than that at the EMBRAER [Brazilian Aeronautics Company], where striking employees rejected an offer of a 65-percent increase. They are demanding an increase of 140 percent. Nor is this situation any novelty for the ENGESA [Specialized Engineers, Inc], which produces armored vehicles. For the past 2 years, this firm has faced serious economic difficulties. However, the AVIBRAS, EMBRAER, and ENGESA have not joined together to resolve their problems. The last two are refusing to join the ABIMDE.

The superintending director of the EMBRAER, Ozilio Silva, argues that the military aircraft the firm produces account for no more than 15 percent of its annual invoices. Ozilio is afraid that if the enterprise were identified with the war materiel branch, foreign credit would be restricted, and there would be closer supervision of its international transactions by the Brazilian authorities.

But as difficulties normally lead to unity, Ozilio and the ENGESA are showing signs of greater flexibility. Last month, Vito di Grassi, the vice president of the ENGESA (the second most important company executive, after its president, Jose Luis Whitaker Ribeiro), decided that Orbita, a missile enterprise created by the EMBRAER and ENGESA in 1987, should join the ABIMDE. In the last week of September, the Orbita officials participated enthusiastically in the meeting the ABIMDE sponsored at the premises of the Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries (FIESP) to adopt emergency measures designed to protect the investment budgets of the military ministries against congressional cuts.

The ABIMDE leaders, with four-star General Diogo Figueiredo, the youngest brother of former president Joao Figueiredo, in attendance, decided to take certain steps, such as hiring a firm of press advisers and developing a lobby to plead their case with the Congress.

Last Tuesday, Olivieri summarized the delay of the ABIMDE in joining the FIESP very simply: "Some of our members argue that if we become an employers' union and seek a position on the board of directors of the FIESP with the right to vote (the only thing to do if you want to obtain respect within the Federation), we will be encouraging the establishment of a workers' union in the war materiel industry. And we do not yet know if this would be desirable." [passage omitted]

Development Policy Criticized

Shaken by the decline in its exports and the losses caused by such apparently insoluble cases as that of the sale of the Osorio (ENGESA) tanks to Saudi Arabia, the Brazilian arms industry was struck yet another blow last week, when UNICAMP [Campinas State University] Prof Renato Dagnino defended his doctoral thesis in economics. This thesis, an accumulation of 504 pages, which is to be published as a book next year, claims that there is no economic or technological justification for the existence of the Brazilian arms industry.

"Unless I am provided with proof of the existence of a threat to our sovereignty, I do not see any reason to maintain the war materiel industry," Dagnino says. When told about this study, the president of the ABIMDE, Adherbal Olivieri, was categorical: "I can guarantee that he has based his conclusions solely on the difficulties experienced by the AVIBRAS, ENGESA, and EMBRAER. I would like to see someone wage a war with just the AVIBRAS rockets, the ENGESA tanks, and the EMBRAER aircraft. The Brazilian defense weapons industry is much more than these enterprises."

Adherbal was right. Dagnino's work only took the situations of these three enterprises into account. But the professor retorts: "The other enterprises which make up the ABIMDE are unimportant. They might manufacture treads for tractors, safes instead of tanks, and boots for civil construction workers, which would put them in a much better situation than that which they enjoy today."

According to Dagnino, "The problem is that Brazilian weapons have always been sold at lower prices than the real production costs would dictate, and this was only possible because of the protective scheme set up by the government. The result of this is what we have now."

Navy Solicits Bids

A dramatic picture of the shortage of resources from which the Armed Forces is suffering is provided by the letter of invitation distributed on the second of this month by the Naval Weapons and Communications Office (DACM) asking for bids on the modernization of the Brazilian Navy's six frigates of the Niteroi class.

The 21-page letter solicits bids for the replacement of the anti-aircraft defense systems of the vessels, and their warning, antisubmarine, and electronic warfare systems. But it concludes with the comment that "it is not possible, at the present time, to say when the actual

contracting for these services will be done." In other words, the DACM admits that it does not know when it will have the money to complete the deal, and that the letter indicates the "intention" of including this modernization in the "government programs," subject to the approval of the Congress.

The naval director of engineering, Admiral Elcio de Sa Freitas, is looking for a loan of $200 million (1.8 billion new cruzados at the parallel exchange rate) so that the Navy can go ahead with its new nonnuclear domestic submarine project, in which connection it will have German technical aid.

Inadequate Budget

"I would not go so far as to say that this budget for the military ministries is a fiction, but without a doubt, there will have to be supplements to it. Everyone knows that the 1989 budget was spent 3 months ago, and the country is continuing to function. In the coming year, the same thing will happen." This statement was made by the superintending director of the EMBRAER, Ozilio Carlos da Silva.

When FOLHA sought him out last Wednesday, Carlos da Silva said that the program for the Italian-Brazilian designed AMX attack plane alone will require "between $250 million and $300 million" in 1990, three times the sum allocated by the SEPLAN for investment in all three branches of the Armed Forces, according to the ABIMDE figures.

The EMBRAER will have to deliver 10 or 11 planes and develop a version of the aircraft for training. Apart from this, Celma, an enterprise in the state of Rio de Janeiro affiliated with the Ministry of Air, which will be responsible for the AMX engines, will also have to obtain resources as well. And then there is the question of weapons and the radar for the "nose" of the plane, which is being developed by the Tecnasa enterprise in Sao Paulo. "How is it possible to proceed with all of this without money?" Ozilio asks.

In the past 10 days, the president of the ABIMDE, Adherbal Olivieri, has made several telephone calls—to Minister of Army Leonidas Pires Goncalves, Minister of Air Octavio Moreira Lima, and other military officials. Olivieri promises that an announcement will be made within 2 weeks about the effect the reduction of the investment funds for the military ministers will have on the 63-member industries in his association. It is certain that these figures will be included in the address with which he will salute the minister of air at a luncheon being sponsored by the ABIMDE in Sao Paulo on 30 November. But it is most likely that Moreira Lima will hear some apprehensive comments as early as this coming Tuesday, at the ceremony to be held in the premises of the EMBRAER in Sao Jose dos Campos (85 km northeast of Sao Paulo), at which the first AMX will be turned over to the Brazilian Air Force.

Alternative Investment Plans

Given the current situation of meager resources for the arms industry in Brazil, everyone has his own formula for making better use of the available funds.

Last Wednesday evening, the vice president of the ENGESA, Vito di Grassi, described one of these plans. "I believe that the Army should cease to purchase finished products and should put all of the resources available to it into the financing of medium- and long-term high-technology projects."

Vito added that an investment of this sort would have a "guaranteed return, which would come with the delivery to the Army, free of charge, of shipments of the products whose development it had financed, or helped to finance."

This is the scheme used by France, England, and other developed countries in Europe, he said.

In the opinion of the vice president of the ENGESA, the Brazilian war materiel industries should also "seek association with partners with capabilities from the technical and financial points of view, such as Argentina, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and India."

Vito di Grassi further commented that "the Armed Forces need to sit down with domestic industry to study their long-term needs, as the Armed Forces and the industrial enterprises in the United States do. This is only done on a sectorial basis in Brazil," he said in conclusion.

* Export Figures Contested

90ET0029B Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Sep 89 p 9

[Article by Flavio Cordeiro]

[Text] Campinas—It is being charged that the total amount invoiced for the products exported by the Brazilian arms industries since 1980, officially estimated at up to $3 billion, is being exaggerated by the authorities in order to justify the investments made in this sector. This claim is made by a researcher at the Campinas State University, Renato Dagnino, who defended his doctoral thesis on the domestic war materiel industry yesterday. He says that the profits (official) from the foreign sales of weapons have never exceeded $570 million, the level reached in 1987. Dagnino considered only the data which is publicly available in the course of his research.

Dagnino, who is a professor of geoscience at the UNICAMP [Campinas State University], believes that the "publication of unrealistic figures on the activities of the weapons industries" is part of a "major fraud" designed to conceal the real production and export costs in this sector. According to this researcher, the average total invoiced for foreign sales in the period between 1975 and 1988 was $186 million per year.

In the opinion of Renato Dagnino, the 8 years during which his research was pursued provided time enough to establish that there is an effort being made to justify the maintenance of the war materiel industries economically and technologically. However, he says, the sector "does not have great importance in the economy as a whole," and it does not pass on technology to civilian society in a general way. This researcher says that of every $100 produced, 60 are retained abroad and 30 are turned over as payment for supplies, which reduces the profit from exports to $30.

The lack of explanations to the public and the scientific community, Dagnino emphasizes, serves in the end to raise doubts even about the argument that the investments in defense equipment are a "strategic imperative." The difficulty of obtaining access to information proves this, the UNICAMP scientist says. He reports, for example, that the Foreign Trade Department of the Bank of Brazil gives out figures classifying combat vehicles as "other automotive vehicles," rockets as "seamless steel pipes," and ammunition for military use as "other ammunition for hunting and sport."

Dagnino says that serious difficulties began in the sector last year, caused mainly by the decline seen in international purchases in the past 3 years. Other countries, the researcher adds, have reduced their imports of weapons in view of the continued low price of oil, and they now have their own equipment park. With this development, he says, "The Brazilian industries have faced the great challenge of retaining their portion of the foreign market."

Chile

Peruvian Government To Close Border for 15 Days

PY2111163989 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1607 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Peruvian Government decided in the past few hours to close its borders for 15 days and to tighten control on the border passes along the Chilean, Bolivian, and Ecuadoran borders.

Peruvian Economy Minister Cesar Vasquez has said that the measure was justified, and that the major concern centers around the Chilean border, where the price of the U.S. dollar has skyrocketed due to the demand for that currency.

It has been charged that Chilean businessmen purchase an average of $300,000 in U.S. currency in Peru every day. The money is supplied by the Lima black market, which also supplies dollars to the drug traffickers operating along the Peruvian-Colombian border.

Hundreds of small businessmen travel daily to Tacna to buy smuggled goods that are brought through Arica, where suppliers get paid in dollars that are purchased in Lima.

The Peruvian Government has also replaced all customs officials after detecting significant tax evasion practices. After learning about repeated corruption charges, the government replaced several members of the National Peruvian Police, who control the passes along the Chilean, Bolivian, and Ecuadoran borders.

Despite this report, Chilean Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz reported that until noon today, the Chilean-Peruvian border remained open. He added that contacts have been made with Peruvian authorities and with the Chilean Consulate in Tacna. These sources told the minister that the border remains open.

Minister Reports Communist 'Campaign of Violence'

PY2211001889 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The government has reported that the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has planned a campaign of violence and mass mobilizations for the period before and after the election. Colonel Cristian Labbe, minister secretary general of government, briefed the Council of Ministers on the details of the plan. Labbe said that during the meeting Cabinet Chairman Carlos Caceres proposed a discussion on subversion and terrorism in the country to include the recent attacks against the Army Physical Education School and La Cisterna school.

Labbe added that the council discussed both issues in the light of the security reports explaining the PCCh plan to use its armed branches before and after the election.

Col Labbe said that the subversive plan was disseminated by Moscow Radio on 15, 17, and 18 November. Labbe said that according to Moscow Radio, the fifth PCCh plenum stated that this period will be one of tough confrontations and dangers, adding that great effort will have to be made to destroy the fascist institutional order to the extent possible.

Labbe added that the plenum called on the PCCh to implement concrete actions starting 14 December, and that these actions should include liberating political prisoners, transforming the 68th PCCh anniversary into a grand mass mobilization, and using the mass media to place the people in a permanent state of assembly.

Lautaro Members Firebomb TV Cables Company

PY2111234089 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Extremists of the self-styled Lautaro Group have burned the offices of the TV Cables company. The offices are located at the corner of Diego de Almagro and Amapolas Streets in Santiago's Nunoa District.

The terrorist action occurred a few minutes ago. The criminals used fire bombs and left pamphlets at the site of the attack. No one was injured.

Matthei Says Armed Forces Guarantee Elections

PY2211013289 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[By Cristian Arismendi]

[Excerpt] Air Force General Fernando Matthei, Air Force commander in chief, reasserted this afternoon that the Armed Forces will guarantee the holding of free, informed, and secret elections, and that the results will be absolutely respected because our honor is involved in this.

Matthei made these remarks upon the conclusion of a legislative session of the Government Junta at the Diego Portales Building.

After reporting that six bills were approved, the Air Force general was asked about his opinion on the preelection atmosphere in Chile. Here is what he said:

[Begin recording] [Matthei] I believe it is [changes thought] ... All Chileans can be fairly proud of how it is. It is a project in which there are no more problems than there were before these elections and even fewer problems than those experienced by other countries.

[Reporter] General, what message can you give the citizenry, about 20 days before the elections?

[Matthei] I do not want to do anything else but tell you: Gentlemen, we guarantee that there will be free, informed, and secret elections, that the results will be absolutely respected, and that our honor is involved in this.

There are interested people who are not democrats, who are extremists, and who will always try to prevent this from being fulfilled. Beware of them!

This is all, and consider things calmly, because things will be done and will be fulfilled. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Colombia

Government Arrests Alleged Massacre Mastermind

PA2211054089 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Hernan Girardo Cerna has been captured by the Administrative Department of Security [DAS] in Calabaza Corregimiento, Santa Marta Municipality.

He has been charged with being one of the masterminds of three massacres committed last year: the massacres on the Honduras and La Negra farms, in Turbo, Antioquia Department, and in La Mejor Esquina, Cordoba, where 30 persons were murdered in cold blood while celebrating Easter. Fifteen armed people forced them to lie on the floor, where they were killed.

According to the authorities, Girardo Cerna is part of the Medellin Cartel drug-trafficking network and directed paramilitary groups in Sierra Nevada, Santa Marta, where a school for killers used to operate. Criminal bands such as Los Tesos and Los Chamisos were formed by people from that school.

DAS reported that Girardo Cerna had been coordinating terrorist attacks ordered by the drug traffickers. Those attacks have been neutralized by the authorities. One such such attack was to take place against Liberal Party presidential candidate Cesar Gaviria Trujillo. The plan was to blow up a bridge on the road leading to Fundacion Municipality at the moment when the presidential candidate, who was to conduct a campaign tour through Magdalena Department, was to cross it. The campaign tour did not take place.

The authorities have said that there are clear indications that the organization led by Girardo Cerna is responsible for attacks on Patriotic Union militants in Santa Marta.

Official sources have said that Girardo Cerna and Alonso de Jesus Vaquero, alias Vladimir, are two of the people most involved in the Atlantic coast region massacres. Vaquero has been charged with being behind the massacre of justices in La Rochela, Santander Department.

Army, FARC Clash in Southern Cauca Department

PA2111180489 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Popayan—Intense military operations resumed early this morning at the border between Sotarra and Rosas, two municipalities in southern Cauca Department, where members of the National Army and the 29th Front of the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] engaged in a clash on 20 November. It was reported that more than 12 guerrillas, as well as soldier Didier Humberto Galindez Gomez, were killed in this clash, and that several soldiers were wounded. The troops patrolling the zone have implemented a so-called combing operation by land and air.

Paraguay

Argana Disagrees With Criticism, Praises Prieto

PY2111162689 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 21 Nov 89 p 4

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Luis Maria Argana yesterday rejected the criticism made by some traditionalist orthodox [Colorado Party faction] members against President Andres Rodriguez over his decision to replace former Health Minister Juan Manuel Cano Melgarejo as the head of the Health Ministry. "I do not agree with what has been said. The fact that some orthodox leaders have criticized the president does not mean that we all fell the same way," Argana said.

"The president's position must be respected; this recent criticism smacks of a lack of respect and courtesy," Argana added. He then praised new Health Minister

Cinthia Prieto, who he said "will perform her duties with ability, competence, and success."

The foreign minister, one of the main leaders of the Colorado Party orthodox traditionalist faction, said that he could not be held responsible for what other members of his faction say about the presidential decision to replace Health Minister Juan Manuel Cano Melgarejo. "President Rodriguez' position should be above any criticism or comment. It should be respected," Argana emphasized.

The minister added that according to the Constitution, the head of the executive branch has the prerogative of replacing Cabinet members: "We have to respect the president's decisions because he is the president of all Paraguayans. We cannot criticize him for making a decision in which he is fulfilling his presidential prerogative. That smacks of a lack of respect and courtesy toward the president," Argana said.[passage omitted]

22 May Colony Charges Police With Torture

PY2111175189 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 19 Nov 89 p 3

[Excerpt] Diosnel Cantero, chairman of the 22 May Colony's committee of neighbors, yesterday reported to the Febrerista Revolutionary Party office on acts of violence against peasant families living in that colony, which is located in the Domingo Martinez de Irala jurisdiction (Alto Parana Department).

According to Cantero, the situation of some residents of the colony has become worse. On 15 November, a group of about 20 policemen headed by a civilian, Atilio Scapini, tortured 22 peasants and burned their homes. "The worst thing we have suffered since the harassment began 6 months ago occurred on 15 November, when 22 residents of the colony were publicly tortured some 40 meters from the colony school. After the 4-hour torture session, four of the colony's residents were arrested," Cantero reported.

"Scapini ordered the residents to lie down on the ground with their hands behind their necks. The policemen then started to walk on their backs and to hit them with their machetes," Cantero added.

Cantero explained that, as a result, many of the peasants suffered fractured skulls and other injuries.

Cantero said the problem started 6 months ago, when residents of the colony failed to reach an agreement with Jaime Stowo Max Gowan, the owner of the land that they have been occupying. Gowan, an Englishman who lives in Brazil, only comes to Paraguay once a year to charge residents of the colony 20 percent of their overall production as rent for the land. [passage omitted]

Peru

Garcia on Resignation Rumors, North Korea Ties

PY2211025889 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] After describing it as a groundless rumor, President Alan Garcia denied the resignation of Guillermo Larco Cox, president of the Council of Ministers, and Garcia reaffirmed his absolute confidence in Larco Cox and his full political identification with him.

The head of state also discussed the relations with the DPRK. Concerning this issue, he said that ideological independence and national sovereignty must prevail.

Garcia said that it is Peru's principle to maintain diplomatic relations with all the countries in the world. He made these remarks after meeting with the foreign press at Government Palace.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Mr President, what is the truth about the resignation of Guillermo Larco?

[Garcia] This is a completely groundless rumor. I understand that this morning the foreign minister had to leave a meeting of the Inter-Ministerial Council of Financial Affairs, which was being held at the Foreign Ministry, for health reasons, to visit a doctor. I understand that this was the reason that, early this morning, the rumor started that there would be Cabinet changes. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Sir, the possibility of maintaining bilateral relations with the DPRK has been criticized. Does the government uphold this position?

[Garcia] [Passage omitted] I have always been in favor of maintaining relations with the DPRK and with other countries with which we do not maintain relations. However, we have always subjected this to consultations and respect for very important opinions.

Nevertheless, we have already achieved a relative consensus that permits us to view issues naturally and not to accept ideologic stories. According to these ideologic stories, the world will collapse because one recognizes a country or because it is said that it exports terrorism. Then, it would not make any sense for the Shining Path to have twice dynamited the DPRK Embassy or the attache's office.

However, I think that this is an issue involving ideological independence and national sovereignty. Furthermore, the position of a government must be respected. [end recording]

Economy Minister Announces 15-Day Border Closure

PY2111212089 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Economy Minister Cesar Vasquez Bazan announced today that the borders will remain closed for 15 days. He said that, in addition to this measure, the

police personnel at the checkpoints will be totally replaced, and the customs houses will be reorganized.

Explanation of Closure

PY2211120689 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Economy Minister Cesar Vasquez Bazan has explained that the border closure is an administrative measure that will not affect people's movements or airport operations. The minister said that the border closure should reduce, to some extent, the pressure on the price of the dollar. He complained about the lack of cooperation from some sectors in slowing the inflationary process, citing the transport and pharmaceutical sectors in particular.

[Begin recording] [Vasquez Bazan] The border closure is a purely administrative measure, and it has been adopted in the country before. This measure will be in force for 15 days since it was adopted only temporarily; it will not affect people who want to leave or enter the country using their passports. For instance, operations at the Jorge Chavez Airport will be normal. On the southern and northern borders, however, people will not be allowed to use border passes for 15 days, only passports. In addition to the border closure, only import and export operations for which previous permits have been granted will be allowed; for 15 days, border customs will be closed to minor operations not requiring such permits.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Vasquez Bazan] I want to say, gentlemen, that this measure has several objectives: first, to curb the smuggling against which no effective measure has been adopted for the past 15 years in Peru; and second... [changes thought] I must say that in my recent visit to the southern border I observed the inefficiency of the customs offices there. For that reason, EL PERUANO, the official gazette, today published a resolution reorganizing the Tacna customs office. By the same token, tomorrow EL PERUANO will publish a resolution reorganizing the Tacna customs fees collection area. We have coordinated the removal of security police personnel from Tacna with the Interior Minister, since the biggest influx of contraband comes through Las Pampas. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Body Found; Thought To Be U.S. Reporter

PY2211030489 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] A body, thought to be that of U.S. journalist Todd Smith, who works for Florida's TAMPA TRIBUNE, was found today in the jungle in northern Peru, the Peruvian police have reported. The U.S. journalist has been missing since last Friday.

Uruguay

Armed Forces To Respect Election Results

PY2111233089 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 16 Nov 89 p 16

[Text] Defense Minister Hugo Medina has stated that the Armed Forces will respect the results of the 26 November elections "without hesitation and with no concealed intentions." He added, however, that he cannot guarantee the "absolute loyalty" of the Armed Forces, that they will maintain their independence of whoever is elected, because the members of the Armed Forces "are men," and "they have free will."

"I could say that the Armed Forces will respect whatever is said and done, that they are going to change their principles, and the new president will have their absolute loyalty. However, I cannot say that this loyalty will be absolute. I can say that there will be functional loyalty, but regarding absolute loyalty, it will be up to each member of the Armed Forces," Medina added.

Medina made these remarks on 14 November in his speech to the Congressional Permanent Commission that is made up of Deputy Leon Morelli and Senators Francisco Terra Gallinal (Colorado Party) and Francisco Rodriguez Camusso (Broad Front).

The minister had been called by this commission to explain the meaning of his remarks on 27 October at General Rivera Park, when he said that the victory of presidential hopefuls Jorge Batlle, Luis Alberto Lacalle, and Jorge Pacheco Areco does not represent "any risk" for the Armed Forces, and that a victory of the Broad Front in the capital will not affect the Armed Forces.

Medina said that those remarks represented his personal opinion, and he added: "Whoever speaks as a minister can and must engage in politics." He added: "I do not engage in party politics, because I respect the Armed Forces, and because I also understand the plurality of personal opinions within the Armed Forces."

Medina said that "as a body" the Armed Forces "will respect the desire of the majority," because it is "their functional obligation." He added, however, that the members of the Armed Forces "are free men," who "have free will."

"I know they will obey whatever orders they receive, but they will continue to control their own thoughts and consciences," Medina stated.

Medina concluded by reiterating his opinion that there are only three possible winners. "I have the right to predict who can or cannot win," he said.